



ARCTIC FEVER



ARCTIC FEVER



Angeltidsvæk Bulldog, 1860, Amerikahavnen



YOUNG 1860. The ship is a three-masted sailing ship, possibly a ship of the line, in a bay. The background features a range of rugged, snow-capped mountains under a blue sky with light clouds.

Previous pages: 'The Large British Steamer *Bulldog*, the American Ship *Nautilus*, and Other Ships at Nuuk, 1860' (title translated by Richard Margolis) by Aalut Kangermiu (also known as Aron of Kangeq) from *Atuagagdliutit* issue 1, 1 January 1861.

ARCTIC FEVER

Image and Narrative
in North Circumpolar Voyaging
of the Long Nineteenth Century

Curators and Editors

Mark A. Cheetham
Isabelle Gapp

With essays by

Claudio Aporta
Hester Blum
Mark A. Cheetham
Jason Edwards
Isabelle Gapp
Anthony Hamber
Ingeborg Høvik
Grant Hurley
Dolly Jørgensen
Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaaalund
Nyssa Komorowski
Julia Lum
John MacDonald
Maria Nordvall
Eavan O'Dochartaigh
Carol Payne
Bart Pushaw
Deborah Kigjugalik Webster

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
University of Toronto
26 January–24 April 2026





CONTENTS

Foreword

Loryl MacDonald

10

Introduction

Mark A. Cheetham
and Isabelle Gapp

12

*The Library on Ice: Tracing
the Arctic Collections at the
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library*

Grant Hurley

20

Anchored in Time:

The Afterlives of Arctic Ships

Isabelle Gapp

34

*'Onwards': The Travels of Kiviuq in
Art by Victoria Mamnguqsualuk
and Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq*

Deborah Kigjugalik Webster
and Carol Payne

50

On the Trail with Iligliuk:

*New Readings of an
Early Nineteenth-Century
Inuit Chart*

Claudio Aporta
and John MacDonald

64

The Vanished Arctic

Dolly Jørgensen

82

The Terror Before Franklin:

*Lieutenant Owen Stanley's
Arctic Watercolours, 1836–1837*

Mark A. Cheetham

90

A Fever for Arctic Printing

Hester Blum

96

*'A Welcome, Though a Painful,
Gift': Lieutenant John Cheyne's
Photographic Stereoscopic
Views of the Franklin Relics*

Anthony Hamber

108

*'Exactly Truthful': Three
Lithographic Narratives of
the Franklin Search Expeditions
to the Arctic (1850–1855)*
Eavan O'Dochartaigh
124

*Nature, the Monstrous Body,
and Death in Nineteenth-
Century Arctic Horror Stories*
Nyssa Komorowski
134

*Impressions in Copper:
Diplomatic Dispatches in the
Engravings of George Vancouver's
A Voyage of Discovery*
Julia Lum
148

*Johan Turi's Muittalus
Samid Birra: The Creation
of Imagery and Wor[ld]ds*
Maria Nordvall
158

*Martin Engelbrecht:
Whaling in Spitsbergen (c. 1760)*
Jason Edwards
164

*'Successful Arctic Camera Work':
Photography and the Fram
Expedition, 1893–1896*
Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund
172

*Inuit Cosmopolitanism
and Kalaallit Nunaat*
Bart Pushaw
188

*The Snow Baby, or, Naturalizing
Colonial Extraction Through
Children's Literature*
Ingeborg Høvik
198

*In and About the Arctic:
Entertainments and Ephemera*
Mark A. Cheetham
206

Contributors 222
Exhibition Case List 226
Acknowledgments 230

FOREWORD

Arctic Fever explores the enduring fascination with the Arctic in the nineteenth century not through tales of conquest or catastrophe, but by illuminating the broader, interconnected themes, images, and voices that shaped Arctic travel and continue to resonate today. Instead of focusing on conventional narratives of triumph or tragedy, the exhibition looks at the complex relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous travellers, the many ways their experiences were disseminated, and the global nature of Arctic exploration.

The exhibition organizers invite us to imagine the impressive octagonal gallery at the heart of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library as a space that reflects the circular currents of the Arctic. Visitors will find themselves at the center of this polar world, anchored in the Fisher's exceptional collections. *Arctic Fever* draws on the library's rare books, illustrated magazines, maps, printed ephemera, and visual materials to show how Arctic stories were created, shared, and consumed across diverse formats and around the world. These items help us revisit well-known histories and uncover lesser-known ones of Inuit mapmakers, Nordic navigators, amateur artists, and polar journalists. This companion catalogue, featuring essays by scholars from diverse backgrounds and disciplines, expands on the exhibition's themes and offers new insights into how the Arctic has been imagined over time.

At its core, *Arctic Fever* is about connections of people, knowledge, objects, and stories. Arctic journeys were rarely done in isolation; they were part of wider networks of cultural exchange and political ambition. From Inuit charts and Arctic newspapers to images of plays performed on ice-bound ships, the materials on display chart a complex, often contradictory, history that also anticipates contemporary concerns, including climate change, Indigenous sovereignty, and resource extraction.

Rather than reheating the fever of the 'Age of Discovery', *Arctic Fever* takes a cooler approach, asking what the legacy of Arctic travel reveals about connection, knowledge, and the lasting allure of the North.

Loryl MacDonald,
Associate Chief Librarian for Special Collections
and Director of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

The arctic fever
is in our blood,
and there is
no cure for such
patients but to
put them on ice.

WALTER WELLMAN, 1899¹

INTRODUCTION

'ON ICE': THEMES MORE THAN HEROES

The American adventurer Walter Wellman (1858–1934) encapsulated the passion with which many voyagers approached the Arctic in the nineteenth century. His is one version of 'Arctic Fever' that this exhibition acknowledges and displays in images and narratives. But we do not celebrate exploration, heroism, triumph or tragedy—the norm in the nineteenth century and since, notably in the concentration on John Franklin's calamitous voyage of 1845, in which the entire crew was lost—but instead emphasize pivotal themes, images, and texts that give a broader view of Arctic voyaging at its zenith in the nineteenth century and in relation to current issues in the region. Often, these intersecting themes detailed in *Arctic Fever* were maritime, a long-standing characteristic of the Arctic that is increasingly evident in our period of especially rapid environmental warming in this region. Current discussions of climate disruption, maritime geopolitics, Indigenous rights and sovereignty, and extractive industries underpin this catalogue's essays as well as our relationship to today's Arctic.

What we present is typically 'on ice', but in a cooler register as we distance ourselves from the feverish 'Age of Discovery' to look at Arctic voyaging in new ways. We underline its circumpolar multi-medial and multi-national complexion through examples of both Indigenous travellers and a range of American, British, Nordic, Russian, and others with interests in the area. These expeditions were in constant contact, sometimes competing, at other

times collaborating. Connections were occasionally physical and material; they were unceasing in the burgeoning discourse about the Arctic. As a result, not only were many travels circular in their eventual navigation of the Northwest and Northeast Passages from ports further south (and places in the Circumpolar North); there was also a potent circular exchange among voyagers, whalers, and Indigenous peoples and a crucial circuit of imagery and narratives rebounding back and forth from the home countries to the Arctic. Many of these exchanges were serious and scientific; others were entertainments, but no less revealing for their jocularity and imaginative extremes. The supposed 'polarities' of science and popular culture meet in ephemera and memorabilia.

Another emphasis is the remarkable range of media in which the narratives and images of Arctic voyaging appeared. Even within the bounds of published books, illustrations trace the rapidly evolving reproduction technologies of the time, from engravings of several types to lithography to photography. Colour appeared, whether in hand-tinting or chromolithography. Most importantly, these technologies overlapped chronologically and were purposefully combined in printed materials to yield a complex media infrastructure. In official publications, the integration of image and text was a constant concern; this is even more the case when we consider the all-important and feverish coverage of Arctic voyaging in the new and highly popular illustrated press, whether in Britain (the *Illustrated London News*) or Kalaallit Nunaat's (Greenland's) *Atuagagdliutit*, which boasted the world's first colour illustrations in a newspaper (see pages 2–3), and the ephemera printed aboard ships in the Arctic.

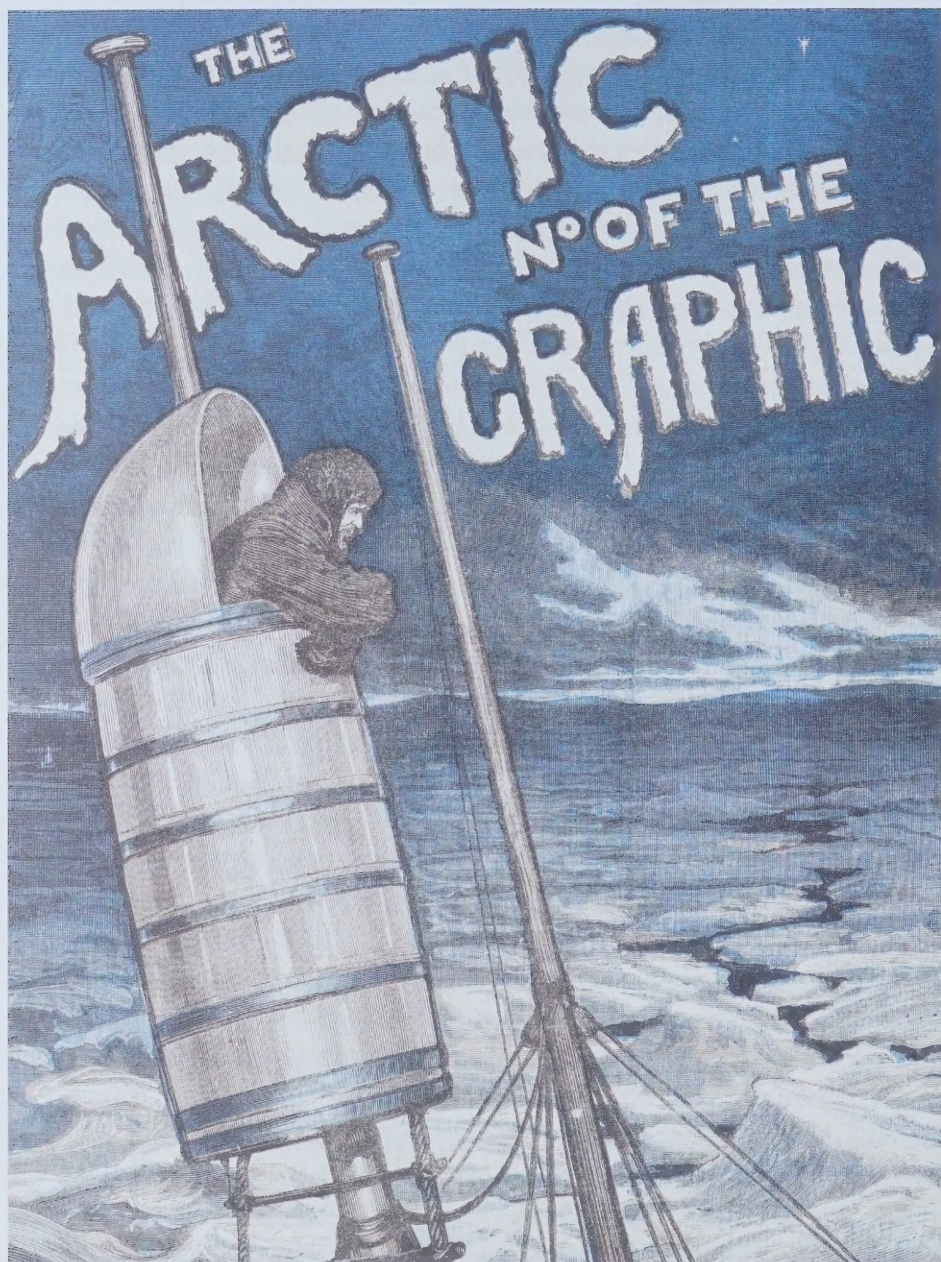
Images and texts are inseparably connected in illustrated narratives and standalone images of Arctic voyaging. *Arctic Fever* aims to move viewers from a too-simple image/text interaction (or divide) towards what Liliane Louvel calls an appreciation of 'iconotexts'. For the viewer and reader, one format often interrupts as well as supplements the other, leading to what she calls a 'pictorial third' in the viewer's perception, a new entity that is the product of the text/image pairing and prioritizes neither. In Louvel's theory,

‘The pictorial contribution, an oblique flash of glazing light projected onto the text, activates the pictorial third that is actualised once an image-in-text, an in-between phenomenon, rises in the reader’s mind; it is a dynamic, oscillating between an imagistic reading and a read image. The pictorial third is this vibrant in-between, situated between text and image, just like the slash separating the two.’² The entirety of what we present in *Arctic Fever* is therefore ‘intermedial’ and operates in a loop among media and their reception, the Arctic and the voyaging countries, and within the circumpolar Arctic itself.

ARCTIC FEVER AS VOYAGE

The breathtaking mezzanine in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library offers the ideal space in which to present an exhibition that underscores circularity and exchange. Its eight vitrines pivot around a centre axis, functionally a seat and air vent, that we think of as the North Pole. Imagine as you enter the exhibition that you stand on the ice-covered waters of the Northwest Passage, the Northeast Passage, and the Arctic Ocean. Adopting this fiction, if you look towards the North Pole, on your left is the Davis Strait between Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island) and Kalaallit Nunaat. For Arctic voyagers from the south, these waters held the promise of a navigable link between the Atlantic and the Pacific, well north of regions then controlled by other nations. For Indigenous peoples, it was and remains home. The first two display cases show the collaborations and contestations across Inuit Nunangat as visitors sought the Northwest Passage. Moving clockwise from Case one to two, imagine yourself sailing west, through the archipelago above mainland Canada. This is where John Franklin’s *Erebus* and *Terror* famously disappeared in 1845 and the area into which dozens of rescue missions were sent. Scientific research was central to many of these Arctic voyagers. For example, James Clark Ross pinpointed the North Magnetic Pole in 1831. From this location, take an imaginative journey north towards the Pole via Case five.

The journeys tracked in *Arctic Fever* took place in many other regions and directions. In a Canadian context, George Vancouver famously attempted to find the Northwest Passage from the west of North America in 1792–1794.



Cover of *The Graphic*'s 'Arctic Number' issue, 8 November 1876.

The route was first successfully traversed (in part over the ice) by Robert McClure between 1850 and 1854, again from the west, and only successfully navigated by sea alone by Roald Amundsen in 1903–1906. In the opposite side of the room in Case seven, we follow Nordic and Russian voyagers who sailed east in search of the Northeast Passage. They too wanted to find and navigate the Bering Strait into the Pacific. The islands of Svalbard (the largest of which is Spitsbergen) were a destination close to the North Pole and became important for mining and scientific research. In terms of climate, culture, geography, resources, and strategic military value, Kalaallit Nunaat was and remains central in the Arctic. Extensively mapped and colonized, it was often a supply point for those seeking the North Pole and Northwest Passage and a crossing place for Inuit from different regions of the Arctic.

THE ESSAYS

The essays in this catalogue unfold across a broad Arctic terrain—geographically diverse and thematically interconnected, much like the exhibition itself. They reveal the layers of Arctic exploration, unpacking Indigenous and non-Indigenous voices and relations, human and other-than-human experiences within the polar environment, the materialities of image/text creation and production, and maritime and terrestrial modes of transportation. Tasked with writing about either single objects or broader themes that intersect several items on display, our contributors—who include doctoral students, early-career researchers, emergent and established professors, and independent scholars—are indicative of how diverse and relevant the study of the Arctic has become. The contributions made to this catalogue are also not only geographically expansive but also intellectually rich and various, intersecting numerous fields of study.

Serving as a prologue, Grant Hurley's essay marks an important contribution to the study of the Fisher Library's collections history and acquisition praxis. His essay traces the legacies of the publications that shape *Arctic Fever* and the ways in which the exhibition, in turn, has informed the Canadian collections. Isabelle Gapp delves into the nautical geographies, histories, and

memories of ships involved in the search for the Northwest and Northeast passages, while Deborah Kigjugalik Webster and Carol Payne offer an important contribution to the study of the mythic Inuk traveller Kiviuq. Reimaginings of his legend are presented through the illustrated published work of twenty-first century Inuit artists from the Kivalliq region of Nunavut.

The narrative of Indigenous exploration is expanded by Claudio Aporta and John MacDonald, who read and orient the charts of Iligliuk, made for William Edward Parry in the 1820s, and unearth the consequences of Arctic voyages to the North American continent for Inuit lives and marine environments. Drawing attention to the plight of the natural environment, Dolly Jørgensen writes on ornithological surveys that detailed the extinction of the great auk and Eskimo curlew. The significance of amateur artists in the Arctic is examined by Mark A. Cheetham through watercolours by Owen Stanley, made aboard the HMS *Terror* in the 1830s, before John Franklin's mission. Hester Blum delves into printed Arctic ephemera and theatricals, both shipbound and terrestrial. The materiality of Arctic exploration is further examined by Anthony Hamber, who offers an unprecedented record of a series of stereoscopic views made by John Cheyne of the Franklin relics, and by Eavan O'Dochartaigh, who explores the use of lithographs to communicate information about and news of the search for Franklin and his crew to a public audience. Examining the public mania surrounding Arctic exploration, Nyssa Komorowski introduces us to the world of Arctic horror and the monstrous as told through Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*.

Julia Lum reads a series of copper engravings that illustrated and mediated George Vancouver's voyage along the North American shoreline in search of the Northwest Passage, while Maria Nordvall draws upon her own Sámi heritage to engage with the personal narratives in Johan Turi's drawings and writing. Set hundreds of miles off the shores of Norway, Martin Engelbrecht's peepshow, *Whaling in Spitsbergen*, is narrated by Jason Edwards, giving a vivid image of whaling in this Arctic archipelago. Travelling northwards, Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund interrogates the role of photography

in constructing narratives and identities in Fridtjof Nansen's record of achieving then-farthest north. Bart Pushaw draws our attention to the production and circulation of the first Kalaallisut-language newspaper, *Atuagagdliutit*, and examines in detail an earlier publication, *Kalaallit assiliailiait: Woodcuts, Drawn and Engraved by Greenlanders*, and Ingeborg Høvik critiques the colonialist illustrations in Josephine Peary's *The Snow Baby*. Finally, emphasizing the imbrication of voyaging, science, and entertainment characteristic of 'Arctic Fever', Cheetham describes how ships' crews brought Victorian-era assumptions and paraphernalia to the Arctic and how their experiences were transformed into panoramas for public audiences and printed in newspapers and periodicals on their return.

Like the emotional and expeditionary phenomenon it echoes, *Arctic Fever* manifests plentiful images, ideas, and attitudes about this immense and varied region. Individual publications and objects shown in the exhibition and examined in the catalogue carry significant aesthetic and historical import. Collectively, they suggest how intimately—and often tragically—connected the Arctic of two hundred years ago is with the region's current human and environmental concerns.

Mark A. Cheetham and Isabelle Gapp

1 Walter Wellman, "On the Way to the North Pole," *The Century Magazine* 57, no. 4 (February 1899): 537.

2 Liliane Louvel, *The Pictorial Third: An Essay Into Intermedial Criticism*, trans. Angeliki Tseti (New York: Routledge, 2018), 188.

The Library on Ice: Tracing the Arctic Collections at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

GRANT HURLEY

Building a library collection is a multi-generational enterprise. While an individual can amass a remarkable book collection during a lifetime, the depth and breadth of institutional research collections reflect many decades and even centuries of dedicated effort. Collections are created one book at a time, reviewed and selected by individual librarians in the day-to-day work of responding to the changing needs of researchers, instructors, and the broader publics that libraries serve. These daily evaluative decisions seek to identify if a particular item fits within a larger whole. The 'larger whole' is the theory of a collection: the drive to collect within a subject area or discipline to cultivate a record of human memory, and the collecting principles and mandates that give structure to this work. The praxis involves asking: is this specific item worthy to acquire for research, teaching, or outreach? If we seek to be completists in a particular area, does it fill a gap? If it is held already, what level of variation or uniqueness (printing differences, special bindings, association copies, and much more) would merit the acquisition of an additional copy? Perhaps most crucially, can we afford it in terms of material cost, storage space, conservation and preservation requirements, and staff time to catalogue it and make it accessible? Stack together the results of these questions over many years and you have something more than the sum of its parts: a set of materials in conversation with one another

that document human creativity, curiosity, questions, debates, and dialogues across the centuries. But as with any activity that happens over long time-spans, the decisions of those who came before us can be opaque. Why did they start collecting in this subject area? Why were some materials chosen over others? Why did we take *that* collection? New generations of librarians are tasked with continuing the legacies of those that came before them, but also shifting received norms and practices as discourses, methods, and subject interests in scholarship and teaching at their institution change. The work of collections development is overwhelmingly future-facing (What books should we buy? What new research areas or approaches should we respond to?). Rarely do we step back and question the thinking of our forebears. As we prepared the *Arctic Fever* exhibition, curator Mark A. Cheetham asked me a simple question: why does the Thomas Fisher Library have such a rich set of materials documenting the Canadian Arctic? Ironically, the institutional memory of memory institutions can be spotty at times, and I had no answer. Having started my role as Canadiana Librarian at the Fisher Library a year before, I took the presence of these materials in the collections for granted. The remainder of this essay traces the legacies of the Arctic collections in answer to Mark's prompt.

Collections development is the practice of building up a set of library materials to meet the needs of a research community. Rare book libraries have a unique interest in not only the contents of the books on the shelves, but in their contexts: their histories as resonant objects intimately entangled in human lives. Annotated and inscribed books, censored and banned books, and many books for which few copies survive are well-represented among the Fisher Library's collections. After decades or centuries of book-life lived elsewhere, books usually find themselves in a rare book library in one of two ways: purchased from a book dealer or as part of a gift. Purchases are made title-by-title as budgets allow; gifts can be made up of individual items too, but significant collections showing the devotion, expertise, and persistence of private collectors can be composed of hundreds or even thousands of titles. Gifts of large collections often have the result of setting



new collections directions, turning the library overnight into a world-renowned resource for the history of socialism and communism or the works of Lewis Carroll, two such cases that apply to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. When donors desire that their collections continue to expand in their after-lives, subsequent acquisitions seek to match their attention and dedication. The histories of these large, gifted collections can be easily traced. They are often named after the collector and are usually kept as a whole for the devotion they demonstrate and the potential for insights that can be derived not just from each item, but each item in conversation. But libraries themselves can set collections directions, sometimes documented in policies or mandates, which are meant to support communities of interest, often within their local region or at their host institution. The Fisher Library's subject specialities in British literatures and theology, for example, reflect institutional priorities that were established in the earliest years of the Library's

A woman, possibly a maid, stands in the dining room of the Tyrrell family home at 52 Alexander Street in Ottawa, circa 1897. Note the polar bear skin rug and large bookshelf on the right side.

operations. In this way, library collections at academic institutions embed sticky ideologies that cannot be decoupled from their broader institutional environment. Recent efforts to improve the representation of marginalized voices among these collections are a direct attempt to counter the weight of these historical priorities. The Arctic collections at Fisher Library are an excellent case study in these complex histories.

The Department of Rare Books and Special Collections was established at the University of Toronto Library in 1955 by Chief Librarian Robert H. Blackburn. Led by Marion Brown, the new unit was first tasked with properly accounting for the materials in the so-called 'Art Cupboard', a collection of books and manuscripts deemed special or significant that had been gathering since 1890, when the library was destroyed by a catastrophic fire at University College. A large collection of works of Anglo-Irish literature donated by Mathematics professor Alfred Tennyson De Lury occupied the first batch of cataloging work for the new department. But Arctic themes were in the air. Two years earlier, renowned Canadian bibliographer Marie Tremaine led the publication of the first three volumes of the eventual 16-volume *Arctic Bibliography*. Tremaine had previously published a bibliography of Canadiana at the Toronto Public Library (1934), and in 1952, a bibliography of Canadian imprints to 1800 that remains a core reference work in Canadian book history. Before the internet (and even since), printed bibliographies such as these were the primary way that knowledge about extant texts on a subject could be circulated among specialists and researchers, as well as librarians invested in building specialized or comprehensive collections. Early additions to the Rare Books and Special Collections department from the Art Cupboard included items that would have been identified using Tremaine's bibliographies of Canadiana,¹ and it is likely that Brown and her staff were aware of the *Arctic Bibliography*.

The *Arctic Bibliography* itself was at the centre of post-World War II interest in the Arctic as both political space and site for resource extraction. The bibliography was among the first publishing projects of the Arctic Institute of North America, a binational research organization established

AR 2236



The J. B. Tyrrell Library
Bequeathed to the
University of Toronto Library
by

Joseph Burr Tyrrell
M.A., F.L.S., F.R.S.C.,
F.G.S., F.G.S.A.

Graduate of the University of Toronto,
and eminent Canadian geologist,
explorer, and scholar

in 1944 and funded by a mix of government grants and private business. Initially created with the aim of investigating how 'Canada could increase her administrative, scientific, and technical competence in the Arctic to match that of other Arctic nations, such as the Soviet Union', the Institute set up a program of research grounded in the establishment of their own polar library.² The library was itself created from the private collection of Philip Smith, head of the Alaskan Division of the United States Geological Survey.³ The *Arctic Bibliography* project was initiated in 1947 to create the most comprehensive resource possible documenting the existing scientific and travel literature of the Arctic, with Tremaine relocating to Washington to coordinate this massive project using the Library of Congress as a key resource.⁴ The first volumes of the *Arctic Bibliography* bear the subtitle 'prepared for and in coordination with the Department of Defense', which places Tremaine's work firmly within the space of Cold War territorial anxieties about Soviet threats to North American Arctic sovereignty and knits together government investment in scientific research with military defense.⁵

It is within this climate that the Fisher Library's speciality in Arctic materials was established. Two gifts, one in 1957 and the other in 2002, bookend nearly seventy years of dedicated collecting in the subject area. In November 1957, Blackburn coordinated the bequest of Joseph Burr Tyrrell's large collection of archival materials and personal book collection. Tyrrell (1858–1957) is best remembered as the discoverer of the *Albertosaurus* dinosaur in Canada, but his archives primarily document his career as a surveyor for the Geological Survey of Canada, including expeditions to the Barren Grounds region in present-day Nunavut and the Northwest Territories in 1893 and 1894. These expeditions were for the purpose of surveying and mapping territory unknown to settlers and identifying hoped-for rich mineral resources, both crucial to the colonial project of Canadian territorial expansion and economic exploitation of lands then still unceded by treaty.⁶ Tyrrell later became a mining consultant in the Yukon during the Klondike gold rush, which led to a subsequent role as President of the Kirkland Lake Gold Mines from 1922–1955. Described by the Canadian Mining Hall of Fame as having

'conquered the Canadian North',⁷ Tyrrell also was clearly interested in the history of travel through the region, editing editions of writings by travellers Samuel Hearne (1911) and David Thompson (1916) for The Champlain Society.

A December 3, 1957, letter in the internal collections documentation files of the Fisher Library from Blackburn to Tyrrell's son Thomas notes, 'I was out at the farm today and brought away all the books without attempting to sort them there'. Blackburn also includes a copy of the bookplate that would later be pasted into Tyrrell's volumes, which identifies the books as part of the 'J.B. Tyrrell Library'. Accession card catalogue entries indicate that Tyrrell's books began to be accessioned and catalogued into the collections in November 1957 and throughout 1958, meaning that Blackburn must have made several trips to pack up the collection. Unfortunately, records do not exist that document the total size of the book collection when it was received. Provenance information was not included in early library card catalogues due to space restrictions on the traditional five by seven-inch card, and therefore did not make it into library databases, making it impossible to reconstruct the full extent of Tyrrell's library without reviewing thousands of cards. However, Tyrrell's manuscript collection is documented via a finding aid listing the contents of 294 boxes.⁸ A brief survey of accession records shows a diverse set of books not entirely devoted to northern topics, from University of Toronto history to Joel Chandler Harris' *Uncle Remus* tales, and a copy of a 1806 bible with a note in the back saying it was purchased 'in 1819 for the price of a cow'.⁹ While most of the materials do document Arctic and Canadian subjects, the spread of the collection may explain why Tyrrell's books were catalogued into the general collections of the rare book library, rather than being retained as a distinct unit.

Tyrrell's books were recognized as a cornerstone of Arctic Canadiana in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. In June 1971, the Department held a small exhibition of materials related to the Northwest Passage and Barren Lands, until now, the Department's first and only exhibition specifically devoted to a northern topic.¹⁰ Of the restrained group of eight titles on display, six were from Tyrrell's collection, including one report

LIBRAIRIE GALIGNANI
Engl. & Americ. Books
226, Rue de Rivoli
PARIS
NICE 215, QUAI MASSÉNA



Presented to the
LIBRARIES *of the*
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
by
Patricia Proctor

from the archival collection. Two other titles from the seventeenth century had been purchased in 1966 and 1968, respectively: Luke Fox's *North-West Fox* (1635) and Thomas James's *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Capitaine Thomas James* (1633), indicating efforts in the early years to supplement Tyrrell's gift with earlier works on Arctic topics. As part of research efforts for this essay, myself and research assistants Ivana Dizdar and Julie-Ann Mercer inspected one hundred books, including those in use in the *Arctic Fever* exhibition. Of this sample, forty-one were acquired from the library via gifts and the remaining fifty-nine by purchase or transfer from other sites at the University of Toronto Libraries, indicating that Tyrrell's collection clearly set a precedent that was followed by dedicated title-by-title collections building over the years.

It was not until 2002 that a second major donation continued Tyrrell's legacy: 217 books previously owned by John Tuzo Wilson (1908–1993) were gifted to the library from Wilson's daughter Patricia Proctor (1944–2019). Wilson is remembered as the core contributor to the theory of plate tectonics, and Proctor was herself an accomplished expert in Chinese ceramics at the Royal Ontario Museum. Tyrrell and Wilson shared much in common: both obtained degrees from the University of Toronto; both worked for the Geological Survey of Canada in surveying areas of northern Canada; and both authored publications on Samuel Hearne.¹¹ The books they collected are very similar in subject and topic with a heavy emphasis on government reports and travel narratives, including the many books and reports relating to searches for the missing John Franklin, key to *Arctic Fever*. Though Tyrrell's collecting sources and habits are unknown, Wilson described his book collecting in an unpublished memoir where he relates that during his master's degree in Geology at Cambridge University in 1930–1932, his tutor James Mann Wordie (1889–1962) advised him to collect books about polar regions, evidently with the goal of both producing a well-read scholar and because of their potential to accrue financial value.¹² Wordie himself is a noted figure in polar travel, having served as geologist for Ernest Shackleton's gruelling 1914 Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition and on several subsequent

Arctic trips. Wilson followed up on this advice during the Second World War, when 'Books had been accounted a poor risk in the Blitz and prices had plummeted'.¹³ With his wife Isabel, 'we passed hour after quiet hour in the stacks of Maggs, of Francis Edwards, of the Museum Bookshelf, or cruising up and down the Tottenham Court Road hanging over the tables of old books ranged along the street, tracking down the first editions of Samuel Hearne and of the multitudinous annals stemming from the Franklin Search'.¹⁴ The Canadian Army obligingly shipped his new purchases back home to Canada. Tuzo's daughter Susan Wilson recalls the books on display with pride in the family's living room and being brought out to guests who showed an interest in them, but it is unclear to what extent Wilson continued collecting after the War.¹⁵ Wilson's collection includes a 1716 work of natural history, *Rariora musei Besleriani quae*, but most date to the nineteenth century, such as a signed presentation copy of John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea* (1823) and a copy of Leopold McClintock's *The Voyage of the 'Fox' in the Arctic Seas* (1859) inscribed by Lady Jane Franklin. Collecting a generation earlier, Tyrrell evidently had access to older books and his collection includes earlier works such as *Report Relating to the Finding of a North-West Passage* (1742).

Unlike Tyrrell, Wilson's life was shaped by international rather than national currents of research and politics surrounding the Arctic. In 1946, as head of Operations Research for the Canadian Army, he was involved in the planning and execution of Operation Musk Ox, a military exercise intended to test new technologies such as the snowmobile (nicknamed the 'Penguin') and military operations in the Canadian North. Forty-eight men and eleven 'Penguins' and other vehicles began their journey at Churchill, Manitoba in February 1946, travelling north to Cambridge Bay in Nunavut, and then again southwards to Edmonton, ending with a victory parade in that city on 6 May 1946. While Wilson insisted that the expedition was to teach Canadians how to 'operate in our own country', the press interpreted the event as a demonstration of Canada's military prowess in the face of fears of possible Russian overland invasion from the north.¹⁶ As Wilson transitioned

to civilian life, he also helped found the Arctic Institute of North America, acting as Chairman of its Board of Governors in 1947.¹⁷

The Arctic has long been an area of interest among private book collectors. Collecting is a form of armchair travel, the appeal seemingly in owning and reading objects proximate to the thrilling era of settler-driven Arctic enthusiasm. The Fisher Library's two key donors of Arctic materials are unique in that both visited and worked on the lands that their collections document. Their drive to collect books on the Arctic seems to have been grounded in the careful study of those fellow travellers who came before them. But despite having had actual boots on permafrost, both remained just that: travellers in contrast to the many Indigenous communities who call the Arctic their home and know it intimately. One of the ironies of the frequent insistence in writings about Tyrrell 'exploring' lands 'previously unknown' is the large number of people he encountered along the way.¹⁸ Both Tyrrell and Wilson relied heavily on Inuit interpreters, informants, and guides during their travels, and while they each expressed admiration for the Inuit, both were involved in efforts that would have profoundly negative effects on Inuit life. Indeed, while Wilson reportedly felt 'pangs of regret' about the potential impacts of opening up the North on the Inuit, he kept these 'reservations about developing the North to himself'.¹⁹ Similarly, projects like the *Arctic Bibliography* continued centuries-long views of Inuit communities as the subject of research and unfortunate victims of scientific progress, rather than sovereign peoples and rich knowledge keepers in their own right. Tremaine summarized prevailing attitudes towards the Inuit succinctly in her introduction, noting in the long tradition of salvage ethnography that the Inuit were a 'but recently primitive' group about to be impacted by a 'technically advanced civilization', a subject that would serve as a useful 'laboratory situation for sociological study'.²⁰ This blinkered perspective, widely shared in Canada until quite recently, meant resulting Arctic collections were not truly representative of the lands and its people. The circumpolar scope of the *Arctic Fever* exhibition has broadened the boundaries of our collecting priorities beyond the 'Canadian North' towards

a more transnational approach, recognizing that for Indigenous groups and others living across the Arctic, the region has shared ecologies, linked cultures and languages, and histories that trouble nationalist frames. For example, bringing in materials representing nineteenth and early twentieth-century Sámi perspectives and materials from Kalaallit Nunaat in print puts Indigenous Arctic knowledge and histories about their homelands in a remarkable conversation.²¹

Though the Fisher Library has wonderful examples of texts authored by Inuit storytellers, writers, researchers, and artists, a substantial gap in representation between materials *about* Inuit peoples versus those *by* Inuit creators remains. The question then becomes: what does Arctic collections development that prioritizes Inuit conceptions and understandings of their homelands look like? How can collections development promote Inuit resilience and resurgence? For one, it will not be driven by more ‘collecting’ with its connotations of extraction without reciprocation or repair. It will be driven by the second word: ‘development’, in the sense of the creation of meaningful relationships with Inuit communities and organizations themselves. Cree and Métis librarian Jessie Loyer writes of ‘disrupting the singular, white man’s joy that shaped collections’: Tyrrell and Wilson are but two examples of many such men whose perspectives are well represented at the Fisher Library.²² While this essay surfaces their collecting legacies, the work ahead is not in rehearsing their stories yet again, but using what we know about them and the stories of their collecting provenance to reunite these materials in whatever form required to their original homes. This will mean reactivating these collections in new ways that ‘nurture . . . the collection’s extended family’ and reconnect them with ‘their living communities’ as Loyer suggests.²³ Doing so with colonial sources like travel narratives can be challenging, though there are numerous opportunities to read against the grain, as Mark A. Cheetham has done via locating an Inuit map situated within a British admiralty chart published in 1850, and as several of the essays in the *Arctic Fever* catalogue also do, especially those coauthored by Deborah Kigjugalik Webster and Carol Payne and by Claudio Aporta and John

MacDonald.²⁴ As the Fisher Library undertakes a project to reorganize and recontextualize the Joseph Burr Tyrrell papers at Fisher, we seek to recentre Tyrrell's Inuit, Cree, and Anishinaabe informers, many of whom made maps and shared their knowledge with him. Ensuring that the relatives of Tyrrell's collaborators have access to the stories and knowledge that we steward means that this multi-generational enterprise can persist with renewed purpose, supporting the 'past, present, and future of Indigeneity... a timeline that is not a line at all'.²⁵

- 1 For example, a 1792 proclamation by John Graves Simcoe, *A Proclamation, to Such as Are Desirous to Settle on the Lands of the Crown in the Province of Upper Canada*, printed in Quebec by Samuel Neilson.
- 2 Robert MacDonald, "Challenges and Accomplishments: A Celebration of the Arctic Institute of North America," *Arctic* 58, no. 4 (December 2005): 440.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 441.
- 4 Nora T. Corley, "Marie Tremaine: 1902–1984," *Arctic* 38, no. 2 (June 1985): 166.
- 5 *Arctic Bibliography* (Washington: Department of Defence, 1953), [i].
- 6 The purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1869–1870 presumably gave the Geological Survey of Canada a perceived right to survey these lands, though the Canadian government had no legal sovereignty over the region Tyrrell visited until the sequence of 'Numbered Treaties' of 1899 (Treaty 8), 1906 (Treaty 10), and 1908 (Treaty 5).
- 7 "1997 Inductee: Joseph Burr Tyrrell," Canadian Mining Hall of Fame, accessed September 30, 2024, <https://mininghalloffame.ca/joseph-burr-tyrrell/>.
- 8 See Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library manuscript collection 26, Joseph Burr Tyrrell papers, <https://discoverarchives.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/joseph-burr-tyrrell-papers>.
- 9 *The Holy Bible* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: J. Thompson, 1806–1809).
- 10 An exhibition dedicated to Tyrrell (*J.B. Tyrrell: Explorer and Adventurer, the Geological Survey Years, 1881–1898*) was curated by Katharine Martyn in 1993.
- 11 Wilson's contribution was an article for *The Beaver* titled "New Light on Hearne" published in the June 1949 issue, and an entry in the unpublished *Encyclopedia Arctica* (See Dartmouth College Library, *Encyclopedia Arctica* 15: *Biographies*, "Samuel Hearne," <https://collections.dartmouth.edu/arctica-beta/html/EA15-34.html>).
- 12 Wilson noted that Wordie was an 'astute businessman' in relation to the collecting of Arctic books, implying that he was active in their sale and resale. J. Tuzo Wilson, "Chapter 11: Cambridge 1930–32," B1993-0050, box 50, file 32, page 12, John Tuzo Wilson fonds, University of Toronto Archives and Records Management Services, University of Toronto Libraries.
- 13 J. Tuzo Wilson, unpublished memoirs, page 125, private collection of Susan Wilson.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 Susan Wilson, phone call with author, October 10, 2024.
- 16 Nick Eyles, *Tuzo: The Unlikely Revolutionary of Plate Tectonics* (Toronto: Aevo University of Toronto Press, 2022), 123.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 18 "1997 Inductee, Joseph Burr Tyrrell."
- 19 Eyles, 125.
- 20 Marie Tremaine, "Introduction," in *Arctic Bibliography* (Washington: Department of Defence, 1953), 7.
- 21 Please see Maria Nordval's article in this catalogue.
- 22 Jessie Loyer, "Collections Are Our Relatives: Disrupting the Singular, White Man's Joy That Shaped Collections," in *The Collector and the Collected: Decolonizing Area Studies Librarianship*, ed. Megan Browndorf, Erin Pappas, and Anna Arays (Sacramento: Library Juice Press, 2021), 27.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 24 Mark A. Cheetham, "Monumental Ephemera: British Sculpture in the Arctic, Icebergs in London, an Inuit Map," *Art History* 47, no. 2 (April 2024): 389–92, doi:10.1093/arthist/ulae019.
- 25 Loyer, 40.

Anchored in Time: The Afterlives of Arctic Ships

ISABELLE GAPP

Many are the vessels that have made their last voyage here.
—Roald Amundsen, 1908¹

As the extent, thickness, and character of sea ice continues to change for the worse because of climate warming, ships are determining movement through Arctic waters. In what has been described as a new maritime Arctic,² commercial marine transportation systems promise to carve new shipping routes through previously unnavigable waters, especially in the Arctic Ocean. The visual trope of the ship beset by ice—so prominent in the nineteenth century—is becoming relegated to history. And yet, this commercialization of Arctic waters is not new: the history of ships navigating the Arctic is long associated with geographical exploration and resource extraction/exploitation. Take, for example, the 1668–1669 voyage to Hudson Bay aboard the *Nonsuch*, a British trading ketch (a two-masted sailing vessel), which ascertained that the region was more than suitable as a northern fur trade route. In turn, this led to the creation of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) in 1670.

Maritime historian Elizabeth Kim Alexander argues that ships exist as 'an essential element in assemblages of political power'.³ Whether trapped in the ice or moving through open waters, the image/text relationships evidenced in *Arctic Fever* trace the histories of ships that navigated Arctic waters and often serve as monuments to vessels that never made it back.⁴ The books provide visual and written testimonies of the voyages through drawings, engravings, photographs, writing, and maps. As Natali Pearson writes,

‘Every shipwreck is an accidental time capsule, replete with sunken stories of those on board, of the personal and commercial objects that went down with the vessel, and of an unfinished journey’.⁵ Occasionally, like a mirage, the same ships reappear in different publications. Seizing upon the notion of the afterlife of ships, this essay details the importance of ships and the sea in written expeditionary records, recalling the feats of engineering involved in designing and remodelling ships before and after Arctic exploration, the encounters between ships, explorers, and Indigenous peoples, and the written and visual traces of ships in their crews’ expeditionary publications.

NAUTICAL GEOGRAPHIES

The successful navigation of the Northwest Passage for trade was among the primary drivers of exploration during the nineteenth century. Ships were designed, constructed, and remodelled with this in mind, alongside cognate voyages to the Northeast Passage and North Pole. Views from and of these ships epitomize our image of Arctic maritime history and exploration. Beyond the written word, the histories, or ‘nautical geographies’ as Elizabeth Kim Alexander terms it, of maritime exploration in the Arctic are further delineated within cartographic spaces.

John Hugh Johnson’s double-map *The Arctic Regions, Showing the North-West Passage as Determined by Cap. R. McClure and Other Arctic Voyagers* (1856), ‘converges temporalities and histories in its collaborative visual, textual, and cartographic details’.⁶ Published in *The Royal Illustrated Atlas of Modern Geography*, the map commemorates Robert McClure’s successful expedition aboard the HMS *Investigator* to locate the Northwest Passage (1850–1854). Surrounded by multiple vignettes derived from other publications, including the depictions of Inuit Tookoolito (Taquilittuq), Ebierbing (Ipiirvik), and Haralukjoe previously published in the *Illustrated London News* (18 February 1854), Johnson presents two maps on one sheet. One charts the Wellington Channel and Parry Islands, crossing Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, and the other depicts the wider Arctic Circle. In the large wider Arctic Circle map, the achievement of McClure is



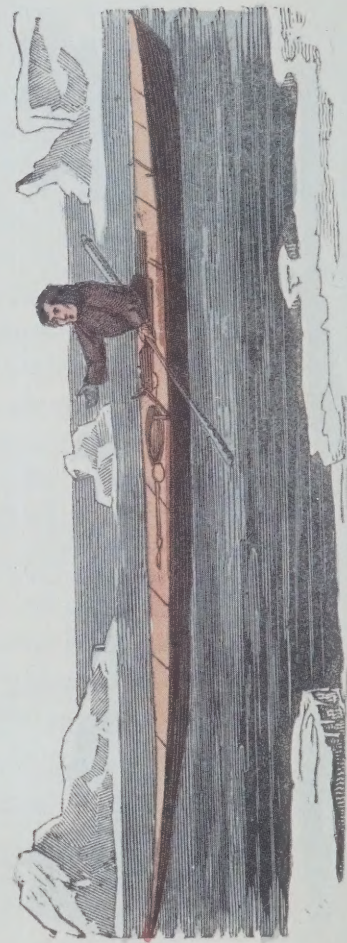
ARCTIC REGIONS.



documented through a track-line following the route *Investigator* would have navigated, had it not been trapped in sea ice for three years and the link finally determined on foot (1850–1853). The locations where the Franklin search vessels the *Assistance* and *Resolute* were both abandoned in 1854 are similarly marked upon the map. Here, ships were notably remembered by the routes they chartered rather than the stories they might tell.

The historic traces of ships are also found in the development, creation, and use of watercraft by and for Inuit. The Northwest Passage constitutes a part of the Inuit Sea.⁷ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, claims were also made about the presence of Inuit fishing in skin-on-frame qajaq off the coast of Orkney. Jonathan Westaway argues that these natural history texts were conflated as folklore or mythology.⁸ Long distance skin-on-frame qajaq sea voyages have been questioned by modern attempts at such open-water expeditions. Inuit artist Mark Igloliorte, discussing his work *Kayak is Inuktitut for Seal Hunting Boat* (2019), described how ‘the form of the kayak came from its function as a hunting boat’.⁹ It was not intended for long-distance, open-water travel but rather near-shore hunting and fishing. Instead, Westaway proposes that ‘Orkney’s site as an entrepôt for returning vessels from the Arctic initiated a process of cargo-driven curiosity as circumpolar objects became available to scholars and collectors’.¹⁰ The idea of Inuit fisherfolk in Scottish waters thus imagined a reverse narrative of contact. Meanwhile, within nineteenth-century texts, Inuit modes of transportation, including qajaq, were often represented as vignettes of traditional life, as illustrated in *A Peep at the Esquimaux; or Scenes on the Ice* (1825): ‘Amongst the treasures of this race, / The trim Kayak must find a place, / Of Esquimaux, it forms the pride, / When skimming o’er the waters wide’.¹¹

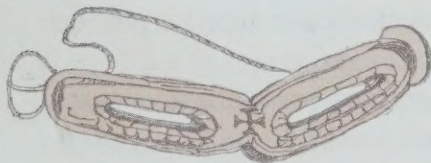
McClure’s discovery and Norwegian Roald Amundsen’s successful navigation of the Northwest Passage almost sixty years later (1903–1906) marked the culmination of 340 years of exploratory interest in navigating these Arctic waterways by visitors to the Circumpolar North. In 1576, Martin Frobisher (1539–1594) was the first non-Indigenous explorer to attempt to locate the passage. Amundsen’s *Gjøa* was a small vessel (only forty-seven tonnes, with



THE KAYAK.

—o—

AMONGST the treasures of this race,
The trim Kayak must find a place.
Of ESQUIMAUX, it forms the pride,
When skimming o'er the waters wide.
Its texture is of seal-skin light,
With whalebone hoops, to make it tight.
The seat, one person only fits ;
In this, the Savage firmly sits ;
And though to such frail bark consign'd,
Fears neither fog, nor threat'ning wind ;
But with broad paddle, seeks his way,
Nor knows a feeling of dismay.
'Midst flocs of ice he bends his course,
In search of rein-deer, or sea-horse ;
And should success attend his toil,
He hastens home to share the spoil :
The boat upon his head he bears,
And boist'rous shouts his joy declares.



a crew of six) that had initially served as a herring boat, built-to-order in 1872 by Asbjørn Sexe. Even before being purchased by Amundsen in 1901, it had voyaged to the east coast of Kalaallit Nunaat, Svalbard, and Novaya Zemlya under the ownership of Tromsø-based skipper Hans Christian Johannesen. The *Gjøa* arrived in San Francisco on 10 September 1906, becoming the first ship to successfully navigate the Northwest Passage. Here, it was gifted to the city by the Norwegian American community and displayed in Golden Gate Park. At the mercy of the weather, as well as vandalism, arson, and treasure hunters, the *Gjøa* deteriorated and was almost burned. After several attempts to restore her and maintain her condition, in 1972 she was finally returned to Norway.

FROM BOMB VESSELS TO STEAMSHIPS

Where the qajaq was used as a hunting vessel, its constituent materials—sealskin, driftwood or whalebone, sinew—were used in, among others, umiaq (an open skin-boat), qamutiik (sledges), and tupiit (a summer tent). Many of the British Arctic exploration vessels, meanwhile, were repurposed gunships or merchant vessels. The *Isabella* and *Alexander*, two ships that were commanded by John Ross and William Parry, were previously Hull-built merchant vessels before they (alongside the *Dorothea* and *Trent*) were refitted through ‘various alterations which were necessary for the safety of the ships and comfort of the crews’ in discovering the Northwest Passage.¹² They were both crewed by experienced whalers and carried a well-stocked library of reference books, scientific instruments, luxury trade goods, and nearly 130 gallons of gin and brandy. Both the *Isabella* and *Alexander* appear in the background of the iconic illustration of Ross, Parry, and Kalaaleq Hans Zakæus making contact at the floe edge with local Indigenous peoples (see image on page 232).¹³

HMS *Hecla* and *Fury* were the same class of much smaller, ten-gun bomb vessels ordered by the British Royal Navy in 1813 and launched in 1815 and 1814 respectively. Similar to the *Isabella* and *Alexander*, they were converted to Arctic exploration ships in 1820 and made two journeys to the Arctic

together during Parry's Second and Third Arctic Expeditions of 1821–1825. The *Fury* was damaged by ice and abandoned in 1825, while the *Hecla* went on to serve as a survey vessel along the coast of West Africa, and later a whaling vessel off the coast of Kalaallit Nunaat (where she was wrecked in 1840). A narrow strait of water between Foxe Basin and the Gulf of Boothia (north of Qikiqtaaluk) was named after the two ships, and in 1956 two Admiralty Pattern anchors that had been left on Fury Beach, Somerset Island, where they had served as a landmark for sailors ever since they were left there in 1825, were recovered.

Following the return of the *Isabella* and *Alexander* to England in 1818, it took a decade after his first short-lived and much maligned expedition for Ross to once again set sail for the Arctic aboard HMS *Victory* (not to be confused with the warship captained by Lord Nelson during the Battle of Trafalgar). This marked the first Arctic expedition aboard a steamship. The *Victory* was an oak-built paddle steamer that had previously operated as a mail steamship between Liverpool and the Isle of Man. She was reinforced and restructured so that her paddlewheels could be lifted clear of the ice. However, in 1832, after two years at sea, the *Victory* was abandoned. 'It was like parting with an old friend', wrote Ross.¹⁴ They took refuge at Fury Beach where they constructed accommodation, Somerset House, from the timber and sails salvaged from the abandoned *Fury*'s lifeboats. Ironically, a year later Ross and his surviving crew were rescued by the *Isabella* (which had been purchased and operated as a whaler out of Hull since 1824). In 1835, she was in turn wrecked by ice along the Davis Strait.

Taking inspiration from Ross' voyage aboard the *Victory*, before departing for the Arctic as part of John Franklin's expedition that left England in 1845, HMS *Erebus* and *Terror* were both outfitted with steam engines salvaged from former London and Greenwich Railway steam locomotives. They were the first Royal Navy vessels to receive such upgrades. During the same period, paddle steamers were introduced as transatlantic mail ships and cruise liners. The *Terror* was a Vesuvius-class warship contemporary with the *Hecla* and *Fury* that had originally served in several battles of the

De stora mäsarnes plundrare tjufjon och dennes tuktomästare, den modiga tärnan, sägos äfven, hvartill kommo några få prutgäss (*Anser bernicla*). Ejdrar förekommo deremot icke. Alla de nämnda fogelarterna uppträdde endast i obetydligt antal, och någon liknelse till det lif, som råder på en fogelholme vid Spetsbergen, fann man ej här. Slut-



Vega och Lena förtöjda vid ett isstycke

den 12 augusti 1878 på morgonen. Efter en teckning af O. Nordqvist.

ligen må nämnas, att löjtnant Nordqvist under stenar och drifvedstycken fann några få insekter, bland dem en skalbagge (en staphylinid). Af samma insektart fann dr Stuxberg sedermera ett exemplar ännu vid sjelfva Kap Tscheljuskin. Ingen skalbagge förekommer på Spetsbergen, ehuru större delen af denna ögrupp är i afseende å klimat, jordmån och växtlighet vida bättre lottad än den trakt, hvarom

War of 1812 against the United States, while the *Erebus* was constructed in 1826 following the Hecla-class design. The *Terror* voyaged to the Arctic under the command of George Back,¹⁵ and during the 1840s both ships travelled to Antarctica three times under the captaincy of James Clark Ross to locate the magnetic south pole. Subsequent alterations made to the *Terror*, including a screw propeller, more ironwork on the bow of the ship, and raising the bowsprit, can be identified in a ship plan now housed within the National Maritime Museum.¹⁶

Similarly, a sailing ship with an auxiliary steam engine, the *SS Vega*, was originally constructed as a whaler before being acquired and rebuilt by Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld to facilitate his search for a navigable Northeast Passage. They set forth from the harbour in Karlskrona on 22 June 1878. In several published illustrations, including 'The *Vega* and *Lena* Moored to an Ice-Floe', the ships have taken on a silhouetted form against the drifting sea ice, sails rolled up awaiting their ongoing voyage. Here, the ice remains navigable, not yet at the point in the journey where the *Vega* would spend eleven months trapped in the ice off the coast of the Chukchi Peninsula at Neshkan. The latter is instead immortalised in Georg von Rosen's large-scale oil painting of the famed Swedish-Finnish explorer (1886), gifted to the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm by Oscar Dickson (who similarly funded Nansen's Farthest North expedition aboard the *Fram*). Having become the first vessel to both navigate the Northeast Passage and circumnavigate the Eurasian continent, the *Vega* returned to Stockholm in 1880, after which it once again operated as a whaling and sealing vessel under Scottish owner Ferguson of Dundee. It reportedly sank in Melville Bay off the west coast of Kalaallit Nunaat in 1903.

THE CROW'S NEST

While many ships were abandoned and ultimately sank after becoming stuck in the sea and pack ice, Fridtjof Nansen's *Fram* (1893–1896) was purposefully designed and built to operate in Arctic waters. 'The experience of whalers showed that whenever their vessels were set fast in the ice here they drifted

'Vega och Lena förtöjda vid ett isstycke' ['The *Vega* and *Lena* Moored to an Ice-Floe'] from Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, *Vegas fard kring Asien och Europa* (1880).

northwards; hence it was concluded that the current generally set in that direction', wrote Nansen.¹⁷ As Nanna Kaalund discusses in greater detail in her essay, the *Fram* was intended to withstand being wedged into the sea ice and subsequently drifting northwards (something contemporary expeditions such as MoSAIC [2019] have sought to emulate).¹⁸ While the technological innovation behind the *Fram* might have caused some consternation, elements of its design were already known to be essential to Arctic navigation, including the crow's nest. Nansen wrote: 'the crow's-nest on the top was about 102 feet (32 metres) above the water. It was important to have this as high as possible, so as to have a more extended view when it came to picking our way through the ice'.¹⁹ The basket-like structure, while not visible within the illustrations in *Farthest North*, was affixed to the top of the central mast.

Although William Scoresby Senior (1760–1829), who served aboard whalers *Henrietta* and the *Dundee*, is credited with inventing and adopting the term 'crow's nest',²⁰ similar examples predate this, such as the *Mary Rose* (1511). In many instances, whaling crews formed part of the crews of Arctic exploration vessels. For example, Robert Huish in his account of *The Last Voyage of Capt. Sir John Ross* (1834), recounted orders Ross received from the Admiralty: 'as the navigation among ice may be considered as an art to be acquired only by practice, we have directed that there be appointed to each of the ships under your orders, a master and mate of whale fishing vessels'.²¹ Constructed from wood and canvas, and entered through a trap door in the bottom, the round top crow's nest became essential for both whale-spotting and ice navigation.

Alongside the illustration 'The *Prince Albert* Surrounded by Icebergs', which featured in the margins of Johnson's double-map, for Lieutenant William Parker Snow the crow's nest was a highlight. Above the ship's sails that introduce Snow's expeditionary account *Voyage of the Prince Albert: In Search of Sir John Franklin* (1851) two members of the crew surround the barrel-shaped form of the crow's nest whilst another crew member

¹⁷'Fixing the "Crow's Nest"', a lithographed frontispiece from William Parker Snow's *Voyage of the Prince Albert: In Search of Sir John Franklin* (1851).



W. F. SNOW DELT

M. & N. HANBART LITH

FIXING THE "CROW'S NEST."

gestures down from within. Snow described how it 'is a favourite place with many whaling captains—*Penny*, for instance—who are rarely out of it for days when among the ice'.²² For Snow himself the crow's nest was 'a favourite spot with me at midnight, when the atmosphere was clear, and the whole beauty of arctic scenery was exposed to view'.²³

A few decades later, adorning the cover of 'The Arctic Number' of *The Graphic*, a thirty-two-page graphic magazine supplement charting the progress of the British Arctic expedition led by Sir George Nares between 1875–1876, a hooded figure leans out of the ship's crow's nest (see page 16). The ship itself has been cut out of the frame, only the fore and central masts are visible across the sea of ice that stretches before the vessel.²⁴ One of twenty-eight wood-engravings, these illustrations were based upon 'on the spot' drawings from the HMS *Alert* and *Discovery*. As vessels ventured further north, more often than not through worsening sea ice conditions, the crow's nest could not prevent ships from becoming trapped in or overcome by the ice.

UNDERWATER MONUMENTS AND SURFACE MEMORIES

Writing further on the afterlives of shipwrecks, Natali Pearson notes how ships and their wreckages were transformed 'from submerged site to permanent museum display'.²⁵ Not only have ships become museum objects in themselves, as for the *Gjøa* and *Fram*, but their purpose as sea-worthy vessels was even during their lifetime removed or rendered obsolete. The HMS *Resolute*, a barque-rigged ship formerly known as the *Ptarmigan*, was purchased by the Royal Navy in 1850 and outfitted for Arctic service. A polar bear served as its figurehead. Yet today the *Resolute* lives on in the form of wooden desks. Recovered and returned to England in 1856, the ship was retired and salvaged for timber in 1879. At least three desks were commissioned by the British government, including what would later be known as the 'Resolute desk' in the Oval Office.

The *Fram* was not only used by Nansen in his voyage north but was also chartered by Amundsen to travel to Antarctica. After becoming the first to reach the South Pole, Amundsen constructed his new ship, the *Maud*, along

the same principles as the *Fram*, even obtaining permission to use its mast, rigging, boats, anchors, and engine in his new ship. While Otto Sverdrup, who commanded the *Fram* during Nansen's farthest north expedition, was largely successful in having the *Fram* preserved and initiating the return of several of its original features, the *Maud* was later purchased by the HBC (becoming the *Baymaud*) and sank in Cambridge Bay (1930). Today, the *Fram* is the focus of its own museum.

In other instances, ships have come to serve as undersea memorials. When the wreckages of the *Erebus* and *Terror* were found in 2014 and 2016 respectively, having ignored Inuit knowledge of their whereabouts for decades, they became the focus of heightened media attention and were hailed as two of the most significant archaeological finds in recent history.²⁶ Window glass, the *Erebus*' brass bell, interior furnishings, dinnerware sets and cutlery, a book cover, and even coffee beans were all discovered or recovered from the wreckages. The shipwreck soon transformed into both a museum display and archival record.

Few historic vessels remain intact; they were either destroyed, sank, or were broken down for their constituent parts: wooden ships were repurposed for their timbers and, later, iron and steel could be melted down and restructured. Meanwhile, below the water's surface, timber becomes fragile and metal could succumb to rust. As Pearson writes, 'Around the world, underwater cultural heritage is under threat of damage and destruction—from environmental degradation, from the devastating effects of fishing trawlers, from opportunistic looters and industrial-scale salvagers'.²⁷ The Parks Canada underwater archaeology of the *Erebus* and *Terror* shows that such discoveries involve a careful balance between what has been preserved by the cold water and ensuring ongoing preservation both above and below the water's surface. Where such discoveries have long been the domain of marine archaeology, the idea of underwater memorials extends to the surface and to the pages of historic publications, as *Arctic Fever* shows. Further, as sea ice conditions continue to worsen and become more unpredictable, climate change is ushering in an era of exploratory, extractive, and commercial opportunity.²⁸

- 1 Roald Amundsen, *The North West Passage: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship "Gjoa," 1903–07* (London: Archibald Constable and Company Limited, 1908), 34.
- 2 Lawson W. Brigham and Lawrence P. Hildebrand, "Introduction to the New Maritime Arctic," in *Sustainable Shipping in a Changing Arctic*, eds. Lawrence P. Hildebrand, Lawson W. Brigham, and Tafsir M. Johansson (Berlin: Springer 2018), 1–11.
- 3 Elizabeth K. Alexander, "The Icebreaker 'Northland': Nautical Geographies of Power in Territorial Alaska and British-Mandate Palestine" (PhD diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2019), 11.
- 4 For more on the idea of ships and afterlife, see Isabelle Gapp, "All Aboard the *Nascopie*: Image-making, Colonial Modernity, and Coastal Memory in the Canadian Eastern Arctic," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 58, no. 2 (2024): 243–75, doi: 10.3138/jcs-2023-0023; Barbara Tomlinson, *Commemorating the Seafarer: Monuments, Memorials and Memory* (Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer, 2015); and Michael Stammers, *End of Voyages: The Afterlife of a Ship* (Cheltenham: The History Press Ltd, 2004).
- 5 Natali Pearson, *Belitung: The Afterlives of a Shipwreck* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2023), 1.
- 6 Isabelle Gapp, "The Boundaries of Arctic Map-Making: Exploration, Environment and Marginalia," *The Otter Blog, NiCHE*, April 8, 2021, <https://niche-canada.org/2021/04/08/the-boundaries-of-arctic-map-making-exploration-environment-and-marginalia/>.
- 7 See the Aporta and MacDonald article in this catalogue.
- 8 Jonathan Westaway, "The Inuit Discovery of Europe? The Orkney Finnmen, Preternatural Objects and the Re-enchantment of Early-modern Science," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 19, no. 2 (2020): 200–23, doi:10.1080/14788810.2020.1838819
- 9 Mark Igloliorte and Clint Burnham, "The Form of the Kayak Came from its Function as a Hunting Boat", *The Capilano Review* 3, no. 42 (Fall 2020): 85–96, 86.
- 10 Westaway, 201.
- 11 A Lady, *A Peep at the Esquimaux, or, Scenes on the Ice: to Which is Annexed, A Polar Pastoral: With Forty Coloured Plates, from Original Designs* (London: T. and J. Allman, 1830), 9.
- 12 John Ross, *A Voyage of Discovery, Made Under the Orders of the Admiralty, in His Majesty's ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay, and Inquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage* (London: J. Murray, 1819), iv.
- 13 Ingeborg Høvik, "Art History in the Contact Zone: Hans Zakæus's First Communication, 1818", in *Sámi Art and Aesthetics: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Svein Aamold, Elin Haugdal, and Ulla A. Jørgensen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2017), 49–68.
- 14 John Ross as cited in Captain W. White, *Probable Fate of Sir John Franklin and Crew or, The Scurvy in the Arctic Seas* (London: Piper Brothers and Co, 1852), 4.
- 15 Mark A. Cheetham writes in greater detail about George Back's expedition in his catalogue essay on Back's science officer, Owen Stanley.
- 16 Catalogue number ZAZ5672, Royal Museums, Greenwich.

17 Fridtjof Nansen, *"Farthest North": Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship Fram, 1893–96, and of a Fifteen Months' Sleigh Journey by Dr. Nansen and Lieut. Johansen* (London: G. Newnes, 1898), 13.

18 See the essay by Kaalund in this catalogue.

19 Nansen, 68.

20 "The 'Crow's Nest' in Polar Vessels," *Polar Record* 6, no. 45 (January 1953): 688–90.

21 Robert Huish, *The Last Voyage of Capt. Sir John Ross, R.N.: For the Discovery of a North West Passage: Performed in the Years 1829–30–31–32 and 33* (London: J. Saunders, 1834), 69.

22 William Parker Snow, *Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin*, (London : Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans; 1851), 28.

23 Ibid.

24 For more on the Nares expedition see Mark A. Cheetham, "Millais's Metapicture: The North-West Passage as Distillate of Arctic Voyaging from the Anglosphere," *British Art Studies* 19 (2021). doi: 10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-19/mcheetham.

25 Pearson, 2.

26 Dorothy Eber, *Encounters on the Passage: Inuit Meet the Explorers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

27 Pearson, 3.

28 See the recent Icebreaker Collaboration Effort signed in 2024 between the United States, Canada, and Finland. This trilateral partnership could see the construction of ninety new icebreakers.

'Onwards': The Travels of Kiviuq in Art by Victoria Mamnguqsualuk and Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq

DEBORAH KIGJUGALIK WEBSTER
WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY CAROL PAYNE

Onwards, I must keep on, to the edge of the world,
to the country of the birds, where it is never winter.
—Kiviuq¹

Lead author Deborah Kigjugalik Webster announces this essay by saying, when we lived on the land, my Inuit ancestors were great travellers, following the wildlife in the many seasons of the year to survive. Just as Qallunaat have heroes with adventure stories, we Inuit have our heroes and adventure stories as well. Kiviuq² is our Inuit explorer, and he is who we think about when we hear the term 'explorer' from the time when we lived on the land to the present day.

In introducing Kiviuq and renderings of his legends, this collaborative essay makes an Inuit-centred contribution to *Arctic Fever*.³ We look at two specific publications featuring the work of Inuit artists from the Kivalliq region of Nunavut, in Deborah Kigjugalik Webster's home community of Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake): *Keeveeok, Awake! Mamnguqsualuk and the Rebirth of Legend at Baker Lake* (Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, University of Alberta, 1986), featuring the art of Victoria Mamnguqsualuk, and *The Legend of Kiviuq as Retold in the Drawings of Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq* (Gatineau, Quebec: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2006). They are the most recent publications in this exhibition, yet

Keeveeok, *Awake!*



Mamnguqsualuk and the Rebirth of Legend at Baker Lake

the Inuit legends they recount are age-old and, as such, demonstrate the lasting endurance of Inuit narratives. We will introduce Kiviuq and these two publications with an emphasis on travel and exploration, an overall theme of *Arctic Fever*, here witnessed through Inuit culture and specifically as known in the Kivalliq region.

KIVIUQ: BACKGROUND

The adventures of Kiviuq are among the most popular of Inuit legends, or *unikkaaqtuat*, told and retold by countless generations of Inuit. As Rachel Qitsualik wrote in *Inuktitut* magazine in 1981, Inuktitut storytelling is an oral art form that

reflected the world view of Inuit then. Like the Inuit, they were continuous and connected to all that was living. Animals were on the same plane as man and man could communicate with both animals and spirits... the stories in fact were living stories, they did not have beginnings and endings. Where one story left off, another could begin, very much like blocks that could be put together... a hero was a common central figure. He could do anything! Fight giants, create mountains, and even marry animals.⁴

Kiviuq was just such a hero. He conjured mountains and rivers with a little finger. He communicated with all creatures, living and dead: animals, human skulls, birds, Inuksuit. In one story, Kiviuq married a goose who gave birth to children hatched from eggs.⁵ At every turn, Kiviuq encounters mortal danger from monstrous creatures: grizzly bears, a Bee Woman, a spider.⁶ But through cunning, supernatural powers, perseverance, and the aid of his spirit helpers—a bird and a bear—the hero always manages to escape, returning to his kayak and the next adventure.⁷ Throughout, Kiviuq is in continuous motion, travelling great distances and across time. And his legends travel, too: they are known across much of the Circumpolar North.⁸

The legends of Kiviuq remain vital today. They are told orally, in the traditional way by storytellers across the Circumpolar North, including Inuit



Nunangat (Inuit homelands in present-day Canada). But Kiviuk appears in new forms, too. Inhabit Media, the Iqaluit-based publisher, for example, has printed several illustrated versions of Kiviuk's legends (in Inuktitut and English) with guides for educators.⁹ The legends have also been retold in the theatrical production *Kiviuk Returns*, mounted by the Qaggiavuut Society in Iqaluit and performed in various locations in Nunavut as well as being filmed by Isuma TV.¹⁰

Kiviuk and his legends have also been heard and recorded by many Qallunaat (southerners) while travelling in the north. Through publications, southern readers learned of Kiviuk as well as other unikkaaqtuat. As early as 1875, Hinrik Rink, a geologist from Denmark, recorded the volume *Tales*

Kiviuk 'hiding and watching the female birds as they swim' from *The Legend of Kiviuk* series (1989) and reproduced in *The Legend of Kiviuk as Retold in the Drawings of Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuk* (2006).

and Traditions of the Eskimo, which included Kiviuq-like tales. Rink also published on Inuit songs and tales with anthropologist Franz Boas.¹¹ Boas would include more tales in *The Central Eskimo*, the Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, published in 1884–1885.¹² Other ethnographers recording the stories include the early twentieth-century work of Diamond Jenness and recent scholarship by Jurich Oosten, among many others.¹³ But the most prominent southern chronicler of unikkaaqtuat was certainly Inuk/Danish explorer and ethnographer Knud Rasmussen. From 1921–1924, Rasmussen led the Danish Ethnographical Expedition to Arctic North America, better known as the Fifth Thule Expedition. During the expedition, Rasmussen transcribed stories of Kiviuq, publishing them widely.¹⁴ A film version of the legends has also been produced by John Houston with a book by Kira Van Deusen relating the story of Kiviuq following Rasmussen's journeys.¹⁵

FAMILY CONNECTIONS: KIVIUQ THROUGH THE EYES OF VICTORIA MAMNGUQSUALUK AND NANCY PUKIRNAK AUPALUKTUQ

The many adventures of Kiviuq have also been told through art. Among the most dynamic examples are works by the artists Victoria Mamnguqsualuk and Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq, circulated in the catalogues discussed here: *Keeveeok, Awake! Mamnguqsualuk and the Rebirth of Legend at Baker Lake* and *The Legend of Kiviuq as Retold in the Drawings of Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq*. Inuit Nunangat is a vast land with a small population and many family connections, so it comes as no surprise to note that Victoria Mamnguqsualuk and Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq are sisters. Their mother was the celebrated artist Jessie Oonark. According to *Inuit Art Quarterly*, many of Jessie Oonark's children became artists, among them Janet Kigusiuq, another sister who also depicted Kiviuq. Victoria Mamnguqsualuk was born in 1930 around the Garry Lake area and reared by her grandparents and later by her parents.¹⁶ In 1963, she moved to the settlement of Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), where she learned to carve, draw, and make wall hangings at the Sanavik Cooperative, the well-known artists' collective. Victoria

Mamnguqsualuk's work is in collections across Canada.¹⁷ Her younger sister Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq was born in April 1940 in the Ukkusiksalik Kuunga (Back River) area and moved to the settlement of Qamani'tuaq in 1958, five years before her older sister.¹⁸ Her graphic and textile works are also widely celebrated and exhibited. In 2024, Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq was awarded the Government of Nunavut Commissioner's Art Prize.¹⁹

For Deborah Kigjugalik Webster, an interest in the two artists and catalogues discussed here also grew from community and family connections. Growing up in Qamani'tuaq, Deborah heard the Kiviuq legends and was exposed to art from the renowned Sanavik Cooperative, including works by Victoria Mamnguqsualuk and Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq. The connections to Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq's *The Legend of Kiviuq* are particularly strong. Deborah's own sister, Diane Webster, was Acting Curator of the Inuit Art Centre in 2006 when she organized an exhibition of fifty of Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq's drawings and published the catalogue, *The Legend of Kiviuq*. Earlier, David Webster, Deborah and Diane's father, acquired this collection of drawings for the Inuit Art Centre.²⁰

KIVIUQ'S JOURNEYS IN IMAGE AND PUBLICATIONS

Although grounded in Inuit oral tradition, the legends of Kiviuq have been translated to many other forms, as noted above. In the catalogues *Keeveeok*, *Awake!* and *The Legend of Kiviuq*, the skill and imagination of the artists Victoria Mamnguqsualuk and Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq carry readers along the hero's breathtaking adventures. *Keeveeok*, *Awake!* was published in 1986 to mark an exhibition of the same name at the Ring House Gallery curated jointly with the Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, both at the University of Alberta. The exhibition and catalogue feature drawings made by Victoria Mamnguqsualuk in graphite and coloured pencil on paper. The images depict various myths and legends, including those of Kiviuq. Most of the drawings date from 1973–1975, more than a decade before the exhibition catalogue was published. The catalogue itself is part of a long history of Inuit art promoted after the Second World War by southerners and



Plate 10
 untitled, 1973
 graphite and coloured pencil on paper
 56.7 X 76.6 cm

deployed as markers of Canadian national identity and for cultural diplomacy.²¹ And, typical of Inuit art history during the 1980s, this catalogue is written (and the exhibition curated) by Qallunaat and for a presumed southern audience, drawing extensively on Rasmussen's publications. The catalogue includes essays by Charles H. Moore and K.J. (Jack) Butler.²² With his wife Sheila, artist Jack Butler helped establish the Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake) Sanavik Cooperative during its first two years from 1970–1972.²³ Victoria Mamnguqsualuk was long affiliated with the co-op and these drawings were made during its first few years of existence.

Keeveeok, Awake! is illustrated by Mamnguqsualuk's drawing of a scene from the Legend of the Bee Woman, which is reproduced prominently on the cover of the catalogue. Published notes on the plate and text explain that the drawing's narrative is told from top right to bottom right and continue from top left to bottom left.²⁴ In the drawing, Kiviuq narrowly escapes from the Bee Woman, a fearsome cannibal who has transformed into human form. The pictorial narrative opens when Kiviuq looks down through the hole in the roof of the Bee Woman's iglu where she sits sewing human flesh, her ulu (knife) in hand. When Kiviuq slips from the roof and falls unconscious, the Bee Woman carries him into her iglu. In tellings of the legend, though not visible in this drawing, the severed heads of her many victims cry out 'Kiviuq, Awake!' to alert him to the Bee Woman's intent. Roused by their warning, the hero hurries to his kayak, the Bee Woman chasing him with her ulu.²⁵

Twenty years later, when *The Legend of Kiviuq* was published in 2006, the hero's adventures were pictured through the art of Mamnguqsualuk's sister Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq and through Inuit interpretations. As noted above, the exhibition was curated and the catalogue written by Diane Webster, the sister of Deborah Kigjugalik Webster, at what was then called the Indian and Inuit Art Gallery of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.²⁶

Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq made these drawings of the Kiviuq legends in 1989 and, like her sister, worked in coloured pencil on paper. But the artist also included textual explanations in Inuktitut syllabics on each image, with the catalogue providing English explanations of each based on interviews that her son, Moses Aupaluktuq, conducted with the artist.²⁷ With all fifty drawings of the Kiviuq legends by Aupaluktuq reproduced, the catalogue reads like a graphic novel complete with dramatic twists and turns, and the text guiding the interpretation of images.²⁸

Throughout *The Legend of Kiviuq*, Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq shows us the hero in motion—travelling, fleeing, exploring, as in pages 32 and 33 from the 2006 catalogue. These two drawings illustrate part of the story of Kiviuq and His Goose-Wife, the third episode of the legends. The story follows Kiviuq's search for his Goose-Wife and their two goose children, who had flown across the sea leaving him behind. In his search, Kiviuq comes upon a hollowed-out giant who bellows to the sea for help. In response, a giant fish appears.²⁹ Page 32 shows Kiviuq on the back of the enormous fish as it carries him home.

The image is narrated by Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq's texts, appearing in Inuktitut syllabics on a block of ice and translated by her son, Moses Aupaluktuq:

When the giant fish's white under belly started to go under water (as he rode the giant fish) [Kiviuq] would nudge it to keep it going. The giant fish is bringing Kiviuq across the sea to his wife and children and when it comes across ice, the fish gets scared and jumps over the ice with Kiviuq on its back.³⁰

In the next image Kiviuq arrives at his family's camp and jumps off the back of the fish. His children call out that Kiviuq has returned, but his wife—in the tent with a new husband, also a goose—doesn't believe them. In Pukirnak's rendering, when Kiviuq enters the tent, the new husband flies off.³¹



WHAT WAS THE FATE OF KIVIUQ?

Qallunaat usually tell stories that are linear and finite with discrete beginnings and endings. But the Legends of Kiviuk—like Inuit oral tradition as a whole—is continuous and cyclical, as Rachel Qitsualik reminds us.³² There are different interpretations of Kiviuk's fate. Rasmussen suggested that Kiviuk settled in the south.³³ As Diane Webster observed in *The Legend of Kiviuk* catalogue, 'Some say that he continues his epic journey' in the Arctic.³⁴ Speaking to her son, Moses Aupaluktuq, the artist Pukirnak said 'Kiviuk is said to have grown so old that he turned to stone'.³⁵ But viewers of Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq's and Victoria Mamnguqsualuk's art, like audiences watching the 2017 production of *Kiviuk Returns*, readers of Inhabit Media's books based on the legends, and thousands of Inuit telling and retelling the legends, all know that Kiviuk's travels—his Inuit explorations—continue. 'Onward!'

1 The quotation appears in Graham W. Rowley, 'The Original Native Explorers of the Arctic', in *Living Explorers of the Canadian Arctic: The Historic Symposium of Arctic Scientists, Explorers, and Adventurers*, ed. Shirley Milligan and W.O. Kupsch (Toronto: Outcrop, 1986), 43.

2 There are several spelling variations for this hero's name, including: Kiviuq, Kivioq, Kiviaq, Kiviuk, Keeveeok. For consistency's sake, we use Kiviuq.

3 A note on collaboration: We—Deborah Kigiugalik Webster and Carol Payne—have worked together previously and in another concurrent project. Throughout, we have developed a method of collaboration that is rooted in conversation and mutual respect while developing different ways of working with each project. For this essay, Deborah developed the subject matter and theme drawing on her Inuk identity and experience, as well as research and writing. She is the lead author. Carol, a southern settler, contributed further to the research and writing. Together we edited over cups of tea, meals, text messages, email, and Zoom.

4 Rachel Qitsualik, "Introduction: Baker Lake Stories," *Inuktitut* 49 (1981): 17–18.

5 Katjaaq, [retelling of a Kiviuq legend] in Qitsualik, "Baker Lake Stories," 18–21.

6 Mannik, [retelling of a Kiviuq legend] in Qitsualik, "Baker Lake Stories," 21–24.

7 Noel McDermott, "Introduction," in *Unikkaaqtuat: An Introduction to the Traditional Inuit Myths and Legends*, ed. Neil Christopher, Noel McDermott, and Louise Flaherty (Iqaluit: Inhabit Books, 2011), 21.

8 Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–24*, vol. VII (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1929); Knud Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos: Social Life and Spiritual Culture. Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921–24*, vol. VIII (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1931); Kira van Deusen, *Kiviuq: An Inuit Hero and His Siberian Cousins* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

9 Henry Isluanik and Germaine Arnattauijuq (Arnaktauyok, illus.), *Kiviuq's Journey* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Books, 2014) Noel McDermott and Toma Feizo Gas (illus.), *Kiviuq and the Bee Woman* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Books, 2019); Noel McDermott and Toma Feizo Gas (illus.), *Kiviuq and the Mermaids* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Books, 2016); *Kiviuq and the Bee Woman: Educator's Resource* (Inhabit Media, 2022), <https://inhabitmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/teachersourcekivi-uqbeewomanENG.pdf>; *Kiviuq and the Mermaids: Educator's Resource* (Inhabit Media, 2016), <https://inhabitmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/teachersourcekivi-qmermaidsENG.pdf>.

10 Qaggiavuut Society, *Kiviaq Returns* (Cambridge Bay: Isuma TV, 2018), theatre recording, 40 min, <https://www.isuma.tv/fr/did/community/CambridgeBay/kivi-q-returns-theatre-show-2018>; Ellen Hamilton, "Kiviuq Returns: A Collaborative and Decolonized Process for Creating Inuit Theatre," *Canadian Theatre Review* 172 (Fall 2017): 105–9, doi:10.3138/ctr.172.022.

- 11 Henrik Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1875); Henrik Rink and Franz Boas, "Eskimo Tales and Songs," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 2, no. 5 (April–June 1889): 121–31. Both cited in Victoria Mamnguqsualuk, *Keeveok, Awake!*, 63.
- 12 Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo, Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1884–85* (Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1974), 583–642. Also cited in Mamnguqsualuk, *Keeveok, Awake!*, 61.
- 13 Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Folk-Lore: Myths and Traditions from Northern Alaska, the MacKenzie Delta and Coronation Gulf. Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–18*, vol. 13 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1924); Jarich G. Oosten, "Kiviuq: une épopée en devenir?" *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 26, no. 2–3 (2002): 71–90, doi:10.7202/007049ar; Igor Krupnik, ed., *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s–1980s* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2016).
- 14 Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*; Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos*. See also Kira van Deusen, *Kiviuq: An Inuit Hero and His Siberian Cousins* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), and Kirsten Hastrup, "Knud Rasmussen: Explorer, Ethnographer, and Narrator," in *Early Inuit Studies: Themes and Transitions, 1850s–1980s*, ed. Igor Krupnik (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2016).
- 15 van Deusen, *Kiviuq*.
- 16 Bernadette Driscoll, *Inuit Myths, Legends and Songs* (Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1982), 49.
- 17 "Victoria Mamnguqsualuk," Inuit Art Quarterly, accessed May 31, 2024, <https://www.inuitartfoundation.org/profiles/artist/Victoria-Mamnguqsualuk>.
- 18 Driscoll, 69.
- 19 "Baker Lake Artist Wins Commissioner's Art Award," Nunatsiaq News, May 13, 2024, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/baker-lake-artist-wins-commissioners-art-award/>.
- 20 The Inuit Art Centre was then called the 'Indian and Inuit Art Centres' at the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. David Webster worked at the time for the Cultural and Linguistics Section of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- 21 Among many other discussions, see: Pamela Stern and Ece Arslan, "The Art of Inuit Administration: Post-War Canada, Cultural Diplomacy and Northern Administration," *Polar Record* 60, no. 4. (2023): 1–12, doi:10.1017/S0032247423000372; Heather Igloliorte, "'Hooked Forever on Primitive Peoples': James Houston and the Transformation of 'Eskimo Handicrafts' to Inuit Art," in *Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism*, ed. E. Harney and Ruth B. Phillips (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018); Gerald McMaster, *Inuit Modern* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2011).
- 22 Charles Moore, "Keeveok, Awake! Mamnguqsualuk and the Rebirth of Legend at Baker Lake," in Mamnguqsualuk, *Keeveok Awake!*, 7–13, and K. J. Butler, "Remembering the Ancient Spirit Songs," in Mamnguqsualuk, *Keeveok, Awake!*, 15–23.
- 23 Kyra Vladyskov Fisher, "The Baker Lake Printmaking Revival," *Arctic* 50, no. 2 (June 1997): 192–200.

24 Although the foreword and an essay on the legends are credited to Charles Moore and another essay on spirit songs is credited to K. J. Butler, no author is listed for "Plates and Text," the detailed catalogue notes. Presumably, this was also authored by Moore.

25 The narratives recounted in the catalogue notes are drawn from Rasmussen's publications. In particular, the author notes that this drawing reflects the narratives Rasmussen recorded in Knud Rasmussen, *Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24*, vol. VII (No. 2 & 3) (Copenhagen: Gyldendanske Boghandel, 1930), rev. ed. (repr., New York: AMS Press, 1976), 18-20, 97-99; Mamnguqsualuk, *Keeveok, Awake!*, 38-9, 62.

26 It is now known as the Indigenous Art Centre Gallery, Crown-Indigenous Relations, and Northern Affairs Canada. See "Indigenous Art Centre," Government of Canada, accessed July 31, 2025, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100012794/1535557712411#sec1>.

27 Diane Webster consulted with Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq's son Moses Aupaluktuq, who was then the Assistant Arts Advisor for the Akubliriit Arts Society in Qamani'tuaq.

28 The first thirty-two drawings are fourteen by seventeen inches and the last eighteen are eighteen by twenty-four inches.

29 In one of the more bizarre twists in the Kiviuk tales, the man (called a 'fish-maker' in the Ring House catalogue) has a mouth for an anus. Standing behind him, Kiviuk can see the distant landscape through his hollow body. The giant is self-conscious about his hollow body and so Kiviuk has to pretend that he did not see him from behind. Aupaluktuq, *The Legend of Kiviuk*, plate 29; Mamnguqsualuk, *Keeveok, Awake!*, 52.

30 Moses Aupaluktuq, caption based on Inuktitut text and an interview with Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq in Aupaluktuq, *The Legend of Kiviuk*, 32.

31 As Diane Webster and the authors of the Ring House Gallery catalogue *Keeveok, Awake!* outline, drawing on the work of Rasmussen, Jenness, and Boas, there are many alternative endings to this legend. Diane Webster, "Preface," in Aupaluktuq, *The Legend of Kiviuk*, x.

32 Qitsualik, 17-18.

33 Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos*.

34 Diane Webster, "Preface," in Aupaluktuq, *The Legend of Kiviuk as retold in the drawings of Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq*, xii.

35 Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq, interview by Moses Aupaluktuq, 2006, quoted in Diane Webster, "Preface," in Aupaluktuq, *The Legend of Kiviuk*, xii.

On the Trail with Iligliuk: New Readings of an Early Nineteenth-Century Inuit Chart

CLAUDIO APORTA AND JOHN MACDONALD

The French semiologist Roland Barthes distinguishes between a physical book as an *object* and the act of reading it, which transforms the book into a *text*.¹ While the book remains static, the text is always new, a result of the creative process of engaging with the written word. Our 'object' in this essay is not a book, but a specific chart drawn in 1822 by Iligliuk (dates unknown), an Inuit woman, for Captain William Edward Parry (1790–1855) during his seaborne exploration of the Northern Foxe Basin, in Canada's eastern Arctic.² In his official *Journal*, published soon after his return to England, Parry included three charts derived from 'accurate reductions' of Inuit drawings, each giving credit to their Inuit originator.³ We will examine only one of Iligliuk's charts, but will also refer to another by Iligliuk and one drawn by an Inuit man named Ewerat.⁴

Over the past three decades, this chart, along with similar, early examples of Indigenous mapmaking, have attracted diverse readings from geographers, historians, and anthropologists that examine their accuracy, role in imperial exploration, metaphorical attributes, and place in post-colonial discourse.⁵ We offer a new reading of Iligliuk's chart based primarily on documented Inuit oral history relating to wayfinding, traditional trails, place names, orientation, and the marine environment. The 'accuracy' of Iligliuk's

Iligliuk (middle row, left), drawn by Captain George Francis Lyon, from *A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to Reach Repulse Bay* (1824).



KOO-I-SHREET



KOO-I-LIT-THUE

or John Bull.



HEG-MUKE

Singing.



HE-WE-RAT

A Conjuror.



NAKKA-HU

Old Kettle.



AB-HA-LOO-A

Mrs Bull.

chart is here not at issue. Her geographical depictions (primarily based on generational trails, along with their narrative components, derived from her lived experience and memory) necessarily constitute an authentic representation of lands, especially of those areas adjacent to the trails that she and her people knew intimately. To judge her chart alongside Parry's subsequent survey of the coastlines is to impose a false equivalency between her multi-layered perception of the land (firmly rooted in place, memory, belonging, seasonality, and faunal resources) and Parry's single-minded need of information about the coastal geography of Northern Foxe Basin.⁶ Under what circumstances, and by what sequence of events, did Iligliuk's remarkable chart come to be? In the first instance, its genesis was prefigured by Britain's misguided resumption, in 1818, of a long-abandoned search for a fabled Northwest Passage 'unto the glowing India of the soul', as the poet Lord Byron so lyrically put it.⁷ Parry, a veteran of these 'voyages of discovery', having almost succeeded in his previous voyage, was granted another attempt by the Admiralty.⁸

In the spring of 1821, with his ships *Fury* and *Hecla*, Parry entered the Arctic via the Hudson Strait. In accordance with his instructions, he proceeded to Repulse Bay and began his explorations north, along the western shore of the Foxe Basin.⁹ By early October, with the sea ice making fast, Parry prepared his ships for overwintering, finding safe anchorage in the bay of a small island, known to the Inuit as 'Niuningajjuaq', which he aptly dubbed 'Winter Island'. It was here on 1 February 1822, that Parry and his crews first encountered the Inuit of the area—the Amitturmiut—and immediately set about establishing cordial relations with them.¹⁰ A few days later, while a group of Inuit was visiting his ship, Parry made his portentous acquaintance with Iligliuk. He was immediately taken by her 'soft voice, excellent ear, and [her] great fondness for singing'. These qualities convinced Parry of Iligliuk's 'superiority of understanding for which she was so remarkably distinguished'.¹¹

Within weeks of meeting Iligliuk, Parry set about harnessing her talents to the services of cartography. The concept of mapmaking, requiring the

reduction of large swaths of geography to pencil lines on paper, was as foreign to the Amitturmiut as it was unnecessary. Amitturmiut elder Noah Piugaattug (c.1900–1995), while allowing that, occasionally, wayfinding instructions could be augmented by making marks on the snow, emphatically states: ‘no, [we] didn’t make maps. When directions are explained clearly, without scolding, it is very hard to forget what is said.’¹² There was no need of maps because the descriptive power of Inuktitut’s rich geographical and spatial lexicon was sufficient to convey, indelibly, all the information needed when travelling to an unfamiliar destination, a process described by some psychologists and linguists as ‘cognitive mapping’.¹³

By early March 1822, Parry was fully engaged in efforts to render, on paper, the geographical knowledge of lands familiar to Iligliuk and her fellows. Initially the process was baffling to the Inuit, and fraught by questions of scale, distance, and orientation. The first results were disappointing, causing Parry to complain that ‘no two charts much resembled each other, and the greater number of them still less resembled the truth in those parts of the coast with which we were well acquainted’.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Parry and Iligliuk persisted in their endeavours, by ‘progressive steps’ gradually achieving the hoped-for results.¹⁵ Parry provides a vivid picture of one of their better sessions. He places an outline of the coast from Repulse Bay to Winter Island (mapped by Parry during the previous summer) in front of Iligliuk and invites her to extend the outline northwards, delineating the parts of the coast that were unknown to him. He excitedly describes the moment:

Iligliuk was not long in comprehending what we desired, and with a pencil, continued the outline, making the land trend as we supposed to the north-eastward, and giving the names of the principal places as she proceeded. The scale being large, it was necessary when she came to the end of one piece of paper to tack on another, until at length she had filled ten to twelve sheets and had completely lost sight of Winter Island at the other end of the table.¹⁶

Encouraged by Iligliuk's quick grasp of Western mapmaking principles, Parry then instructed her to extend the outline of the northwards-trending coastal contours on a smaller scale. This approach was 'much favoured' he writes, 'by our having lately obtained the Esquimaux words for the four cardinal points'.¹⁷

As Iligliuk proceeds, Parry recalls the 'anxiety and suspense' with which he looked on: 'Never were the tracings of a pencil watched with more eager solicitude...when, without taking [the pencil] from the paper, Iligliuk brought the continental coast short round to the westward and afterwards to the S.S.W. so as to come within three or four days journey of Repulse Bay'.¹⁸ This drawing, reduced to half its original size, was destined to become Iligliuk's 'Chart N^o.2'. For Parry, the significance of Iligliuk's chart can hardly be overstated. As later became apparent, in one fell swoop, she had unwittingly delineated the northern limits of continental America, terminating at a strait known to Inuit as 'Ikiq', which Parry later named in honour of his ships. Ironically, this information—of such consequence for Parry—held no meaning for Iligliuk or her people. For them, Ikiq was, and remains so today, not an abstract geographical curiosity but a crucial source of the marine mammals on which they depend.

ILIGLIUK'S CHART

Despite its startling novelty on the printed page, Iligliuk's chart is by no means *sui generis*. Rather, it is the layered result of mediation, instruction, coaxing, and encouragement between Iligliuk, her Inuit onlookers, and Parry and his officers. The charts drawn for Parry by Inuit are complex 'hybrids', described as artefacts of a cross-cultural encounter or 'transcultural texts'.¹⁹ Three aspects of Iligliuk's chart caught our attention: her use of trails, the annotations, and the curiously skewed orientation of her drawing. Our readings of the chart rely significantly on information from the Igloodik Oral History Project's Archives,²⁰ as well as Claudio Aporta's documentation of Inuit trails, place names, and data on the marine environment (gathered between 2000 and 2006).²¹ Google Earth was used as a visualization platform for the documented data and distance measurement.

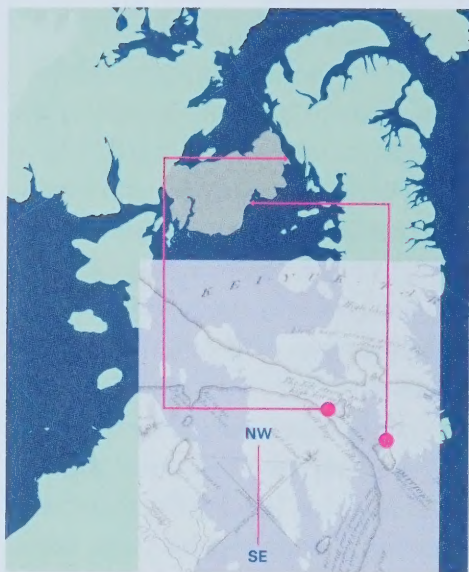


FIGURE 1

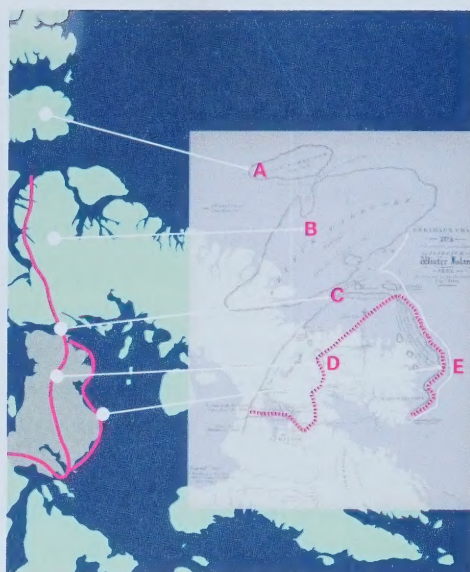


FIGURE 2

ORIENTATION

When we place Iligliuk's chart beside a contemporary map of the area (see Figure 1) she covers, one of the more striking features is that the north-south axis has a westerly offset of approximately 45° . We speculate that this is no accident, but rather a graphic representation of two vastly different 'systems' of orientation, both geographically and cosmologically at odds. Parry exulted in having learned the Inuktitut words for the Amitturmiut's principal wind directions, and in teaching Iligliuk to 'box the compass', containing her drawings within the conventional European north-south/east-west axes. On Iligliuk's chart, he confidently inscribes the four named Inuktitut wind directions alongside the axes of the 'compass rose' positioned near the chart's center, erroneously assuming that the European 'cardinal points' logic applies equally to the Inuit.²² However, the Amitturmiut's 'primary axis' is instead a northwest/southeast alignment that is deeply embedded in their consciousness at the pragmatic and cosmological levels. Consider for example, that

Figure 1: A portion of Iligliuk's chart oriented on the Amitturmiut 'prime axis', northwest/southeast. Figure 2: Iligliuk's trails on the Melville Peninsula and North Baffin Island connected by arrows to key locations labelled on Iligliuk's chart. The lettered arrows correspond to A-Devon Island; B-Baffin Island; C-A location recorded on Iligliuk's chart as 'The Tide strong and high, but no rocks' at Ikiq (the Fury and Hecla Strait) and proximate to Igloodlik Island; D-Lake with Fish; E-'Line of the ice along which the Esquimaux travel in spring'.

the northwest wind, Uangnaq (the prevailing wind in winter), sculpts distinctive, long-lasting snowdrifts (uqalurait) that are essential for dog team navigation. In addition, the densely compacted structural qualities of these drifts are ideal for building snow houses and similar shelters.²³ On a mythological level, the northwest and southeast winds are personified respectively as female and male by the Amitturmiut, constantly in tension with each other in maintaining cosmological balance.²⁴ In short, Parry's 'North' is Iligliuk's 'Northwest'.

Despite Parry's efforts to constrain Iligliuk, her chart reflects this 'embedded' northwest reference, and it is no coincidence that 'realignment' of her chart along the northwest/southeast axis brings prominent features such as Ikiq (Fury and Hecla Strait) and Igloolik Island into approximate correspondence with the contemporary map. That the orientation of Iligliuk's chart is intentional is strongly suggested by a similar chart drawn for Parry by Ewerat.²⁵ Likewise published in Parry's Journal with a compass rose, Ewerat's chart is similarly offset by 45° west relative to the north/south axis.

ILIGLIUK'S TRAILS

The impressive area covered on Iligliuk's chart, largely informed by her knowledge of winter and spring dog team trails, has approximate dimensions of 1,300–1,400 km from south to north and 250–300 km from west to east. She delineates two distinctive trails (see Figure 2). The first begins at Niuningajjuaq (Winter Island) and proceeds along the east coast of Melville Peninsula to the Amittuq Peninsula, the location of an important Amitturmiut settlement in Iligliuk's time. As the line continues, it skirts the polynya at the eastern opening of Ikiq, finally ending on Baffin Island near Tasiujaq (Murray Maxwell Bay). Commenting on this trail, Parry makes an annotation on the chart: 'Line of ice along which the Eskimaux travel in the spring'. From Amittuq, the trail proceeds over the ice to Igloolik, then crosses Ikiq where it traverses a northwest portion of Baffin Island, ending, speculatively on our part, on the south shore of Devon Island. By contrast, the second



FIGURE 3

trail is an inland route. Beginning at Naujaat (Repulse Bay), it traverses the southern part of Melville Peninsula and travels northwards towards Igloolik.

Iligliuk's trails are marked at intervals with small circles that represent 'sleeping places' (see Figure 3). While the number of 'sleeps' can be approximated to the relative length of the trails, using the dots to calculate unit distance is problematic. Parry remarks that 'great caution is requisite in judging of information [the Inuit] give of the distances from one place to another, as expressed by the number of seeniks (sleeps).'²⁶ He acknowledges that this number varies from individual to individual as a result of variable factors on any one journey, including terrain, seasonal snow conditions, the number and health of the dogs, the weight being hauled, and the type and efficiency of the sled runners.

Consistent with our experience of mapping Inuit trails over the past few decades, we can reasonably surmise that the charts made by Inuit for Parry are essentially a composite of shared geographical knowledge of established routes passed down orally from generation to generation.²⁷ While the longer trails would have been perceived by Inuit as segments

Figure 3: Iligliuk's trail across the northwest part of Baffin Island, seemingly exiting at the foot of Admiralty Inlet, is similar to a trail used today. The dots placed on Iligliuk's chart represent 'sleeps' taken during travel.

associated with significant places along the way (rather than continuous entities), Iligliuk unusually links each segment together to represent the entirety of the trail.²⁸ Iligliuk's inland trail through the Melville Peninsula is comparable to a common modern route for snowmobile travel between Naujaat and Igloolik.²⁹ While the coastal trail along the eastern shore of the Peninsula is rarely used today, it is vividly remembered by Igloolik elders as a trail used before the establishment of permanent settlements and the introduction of the snowmobile.³⁰

The trail north of Igloolik, crossing northwest Baffin Island to the Lancaster Sound shore and across (we speculate) to Devon Island, is more abstract (see Figure 2). However, the general layout, initial and terminal points on Baffin Island, together with coastal features, are strikingly similar to the trails used by Inuit today, as mapped by Aporta in Igloolik and Arctic Bay (2006–2009, see Figure 4). Given the number of 'sleeps' in Iligliuk's chart (Figure 3), we suggest that the trail picks up on the sea ice at the foot of Admiralty Inlet (after the land crossing). That the trails drawn by Iligliuk and her companions for Parry in 1822 are demonstrably those still in use or remembered today underscores their antiquity. They are also an indication of how oral knowledge—in this case, exceptionally detailed geographic and environmental knowledge—can be transmitted across generations of Amitturmiut.

CHART ANNOTATIONS

A fascinating aspect of Iligliuk's charts is that her annotations pertain to marine areas, reflecting ontological differences between Inuit and the explorers: whereas Inuit held the ice-covered marine areas as seamless extensions of their homelands,³¹ the explorers, by contrast, viewed the land and its adjacent sea ice as unwelcome barriers in their quest for a Northwest Passage. The annotations collated on Table 1, below, reveal some of Iligliuk and Parry's contrasting perspectives about the marine environment.³²

These annotations are significant, not only for the substantial geographical area they cover, but for the variety of knowledge they encapsulate. In drawing her charts, Iligliuk went well beyond the merely pragmatic



FIGURE 4

Figure 4: Map and inset contrasting two variant trails drawn by Iligliuk. The inland trail (left) was recorded with GPS by Aporta during travel with Inuit in 2006. The coastal trail (right) was documented with elders by Aporta in 2006. The square corresponds to an area where the trails diverge at a lake called 'Lake with Fish' on Iligliuk's chart, proximate to a lake now known as Nagvaaq and another as Sanningajuruluk.

information sought by Parry about the likelihood of successful navigation to the west. Instead, she volunteered information of secondary interest to Parry, but essential for Inuit in terms, for instance, of the availability of marine mammals. Even the trails that Iligliuk lays out on her charts were most likely made on her initiative, for it is through the medium of their trails that the Amitturmiut comprehend the totality of their lands and their life-giving resources.³³ Her charts' terrestrial annotations (not detailed here) further support this point in that they reference areas where fish and caribou are found, as well as places having other essential resources: soapstone and asbestos, for making their pots and oil lamps, and Arctic heather for fuel and mattresses. In the social domain, other annotations mark the principal points of Amitturmiut habitation, the home locations of some Inuit prominent in Parry's narrative, and the birthplaces of Iligliuk and her son. It is no exaggeration to suggest that overall, in their marine, terrestrial, and social dimensions, Iligliuk's charts neatly summarize a cultural geography of her people. As we ponder Iligliuk's charts today, it seems remarkable that her ominous annotation (in Chart 1) on the eastern portion of Ikiq did not give Parry pause: 'High and perpendicular ice, among which even kayaks can find no passage'. After all, the entire success of the expedition depended on finding a navigable passage through this Strait. But Parry, ever optimistic, presumably found encouragement in Iligliuk's subsequent, more benign annotation in Chart 2: 'The tide strong and high, but no rocks.' Thus enticed, he sailed north to Igloodik Island, conveniently situated at the eastern opening of the Strait. In the end, the promise of a navigable passage through Ikiq proved vain. Heavy ice in the passage blocked Parry's westward progress and he was forced to return to England. The British press soon made merry of Parry's disappointment: his name, lampooned in the newspapers, became a byword for failure.³⁴ As for Iligliuk, she would never know that, following the publication of Parry's Journal, she would be fêted in the press as 'fair and intellectual', a 'blue' stocking, her name sounding 'liquid and harmonious'.³⁵ John Barrow, Second Secretary of the Admiralty and the driving force behind Britain's Northwest Passage expeditions, pays tribute to Iligliuk as a woman

ANNOTATION
Tide high but not very strong
No Whales nor Walruses
No Land seen in this direction
Open water at times & Kayaks are then used
Kayak-tarruoke [Note: probably Qikiqtaaluk, a generic name for 'big island'] Beyond this open Sea & no Land
A long day's journey across the Strait
The Tide strong and high, but no rocks
High and perpendicular ice, among which even kayaks can find no passage
Salt Water (Torrioke)
No Land to the Westward seen from the Hills
Seals, but not walruses nor whales
Oagnuk (West). In this direction they think neither Eskimaux nor Indians live, there being no food
Line of ice along which the Eskimaux travel in the Spring [Note: around its northern extension, adjacent to Igloodik Island, this line appears to delineate the all-important polynya where Inuit access seal and walrus during the winter]
No inlets the whole way to Iligliuk's Country. Small Islands all the way along the Coast. Amitioke and Winter Island are large compared with them
SEA OPEN at TIMES. Ice sets from the North
[...] the dotted line is the track on the ice. The mode of travelling is by sledges on the ice, and resting for the night on shore
Small Bays or Inlets

Table 1: Parry and Iligliuk's 'ocean-related' annotations on Iligliuk's charts.
Source: Parry (1824:197, 198). Note: Chart 2 is the focus of this article
(see Figure 1). Chart 1 refers to the other chart drawn by Iligliuk.

CHART	OBSERVATION TYPE	LOCATION
2	Navigation	Lancaster Sound
2	Fauna	Lancaster Sound
2	Exploration	Lancaster Sound
1	Navigation/ice	Lancaster Sound
2	Exploration	High Arctic, north and west of Devon Island
2	Scale/distance	Ikiq
2	Navigation	Ikiq
1	Navigation/ice	Ikiq
1	Exploration	Melville Peninsula (West Shore)
2	Exploration	Melville Peninsula (West Shore)
2	Fauna	Melville Peninsula (West Shore)
2	Exploration	Melville Peninsula (West Shore)
2	Navigation/ice	Melville Peninsula (East Shore)
2	Navigation	Melville Peninsula (East Shore)
1	Navigation/ice	Melville Peninsula (East Shore)
1	Sea ice travel	Melville Peninsula (East Shore)
2	Navigation	Melville Peninsula (East and North shores)

'who would have distinguished herself in any society', noting 'that to her alone... is the merit due of the discovery of the extreme northern boundary of America'.³⁶ No memory of Iligliuk survives in the oral history of the Amitturmiut. But failure can be mutable. Although criticized as 'dallying' by his contemporaries, Parry's lengthy sojourn among the Amitturmiut bequeaths a legacy more precious than any Northwest Passage. It provides the earliest, detailed accounts of Inuit life in Canada's eastern Arctic, told mostly with empathy and in extraordinary detail. And, of course, we still have Iligliuk's fascinating, endlessly readable charts.

Our readings of Iligliuk's charts strive—albeit speculatively—to unearth yet another layer of the many encounters between explorers and Inuit during the defining era of Northwest Passage exploration. Ultimately, these charts defy any definitive reading, and this, of course, is their enduring attraction. Our short survey here also draws attention to the crucial role of Inuit—often unheralded, or muted—in supporting early British expeditions to their lands. In addition to teaching the explorers basic survival skills in the Arctic environment, the Inuit provided sustenance, shelter, clothing, dogs, and essential knowledge of their home environment and its resources. An unintended consequence of these early voyages was their profound, ongoing, impact on Inuit lives and communities. Such voyages, the vanguard to the opening of the Canadian Arctic, set the stage for subsequent explorations concomitant with increasingly sophisticated mapping of the region during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which, in turn, markedly improved maritime safety. Over the ensuing decades, mercantile shipping increased steadily throughout the Arctic, a development problematic on many fronts, including its impact on local communities and the marine environment, whose resources remain crucial to Inuit livelihood. For Iligliuk and Parry, the Arctic as it is today would have been utterly inconceivable. Their close collaboration these two hundred years ago unwittingly impacted on the present. We can surmise with certainty that neither of them would have wished it so.

1 Roland Barthes, *Le Plaisir du texte* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1973).

2 Iligliuk, together with others from her community, drew several maps for Parry and his second-in-command, George Francis Lyon. Lyon spells her name Iligliak. The actual rendition of her name remains uncertain due to the highly idiosyncratic manner in which Europeans transcribed Inuit names and words.

3 William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the Years 1821–22–23 in His Majesty's Ships Fury and Hecla* (London: John Murray, 1824), 197.

4 Iligliuk's Chart No. 1 (Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 198) and Ewerat's Chart No. 2. (Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 252).

5 See for example: Michael Bravo, "Science and Discovery in the Admiralty search for a North-West Passage in the Early Nineteenth Century," PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1992; Hugh Brody, "What Were We Mapping? From the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project to the Southern Kalahari," in *Mapping the Unmappable? Cartographic Explorations with Indigenous Peoples in Africa*, ed. Ute Dieckmann (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2021); Robin McGrath, "Maps as Metaphor—One Hundred Years of Inuit Cartography," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 6–10; John MacDonald, "Stories and Representation: Two Centuries of Narrating Amitturmiut," in *The Hands' Measure: Essays Honouring Leah Aksaaajuq Otak's Contribution to Arctic Science*, ed. John MacDonald and Nancy Wachowich (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College Media, 2018); John MacDonald, *The Arctic Sky: Exploring the Inuit Universe* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College Media, 2022); Peter Martin, "The Cartography of Kallihirua? Reassessing Indigenous Mapmaking and Arctic Encounters," *Cartographica* 57, no. 3 (2022): 239–56; Kenn Harper, "Iligliuk, Female Cartographer Extraordinaire," *Nunatsiaq News Online*, June 15, 2024, <https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/iligliuk-female-cartographer-extraordinaire/>.

6 Parry makes this point strenuously. The object of the charts is the possibility of their revealing the: 'relative geographical position of the lands beyond us... which was in fact the only very interesting question we desired them [the Inuit map-makers] to resolve' (Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage*, 197). Several contributions to Dieckmann touch on the stark dichotomy between Indigenous and Western perceptions of 'land' (Dieckmann, ed. *Mapping the Unmappable?* Dieckmann, 9–46; Brody 69–91).

7 George Byron, *Don Juan* (Philadelphia: Jas B. Smith and Co, 1859), Canto xiii: xxxix.

8 Parry, xxii.

9 Repulse Bay, so named by English navigators in the mid-eighteenth century, has now reverted to its original Inuit name, Naujaat.

10 Parry, xxv. Parry's official instructions included the requirement to cultivate 'by every means in his power' a friendship with any Indigenous peoples he encountered 'by making them presents... of articles which may be useful or agreeable to them'.

11 Parry, 165. Parry's relationship with Iligliuk was soon to become strained. In Parry's view, the attention and 'privileges' she was given had 'spoiled' her: 'Iligliuk in February and Iligliuk in April were confessedly very different persons' (220). On Parry's return to England, his relationship with Iligliuk was subjected to some mild innuendo in the British press. The poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge resorts to doggerel, penning: 'Captain Parry! Captain Parry/ Though hast had the Devil's luck/ Spite the gifted Secretary/ And the charms of Eligluck' (Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Poetical Works: Part I, Poems (Reading Text)," in *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Vol. 16, Part 1, ed. J. C. C. Mays [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001], 1036.

12 MacDonald, *The Arctic Sky*, 190; see also Brody, "What Were We Mapping?," 72.

13 Raymond Gagné, "Spatial Concepts in the Eskimo Language," in *Eskimo of the Canadian Arctic*, ed. Victor F. Valentine and Frank G. Vallee (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986) 30–8; MacDonald, *The Arctic Sky*, 162.

14 Parry, 197.

15 *Ibid.*, 196.

16 Parry, 197–198. Of this chart, or one similar, Lyon wryly notes: 'In a chart of [Iligliuk's] which I have in my possession, she connected the land from our winter quarters to the N.W. sea, rounding and terminating in this part of America, by a large island, and a strait of sufficient magnitude to afford a safe passage for the ships. This little North-West Passage, set us all castle-building, and we already fancied the worst of our voyage over (George Francis Lyon, *The Private Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon, of the H.M.S. Hecla* [London: John Murray, 1824], 209).

17 Parry, 197.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Bravo, "Science and Discovery," 208. Similarly, Fiona Polack analyzes the renowned drawings and maps made by Shanawdithit, a Beothuk woman, for the explorer William Cormack (Fiona Polack, "Reading Shanawdithit's Drawings: Transcultural Texts in the North American Colonial World," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 14, no. 3 (2013).

20 In cooperation with Igloodik's Inuit elders, a community-based oral history initiative started in the mid-1980s to record and document Amitturmiut history and cultural knowledge. The project's archives are maintained by Nunavut Arctic College in Igloodik and Iqaluit, Nunavut. See: John MacDonald, "The Igloodik Oral History Project," *Meridian* (Canadian Polar Commission, Fall/Winter 2001): 1–3.

21 See Claudio Aporta, "Life on the Ice: Understanding the Codes of a Changing Environment," *Polar Record* 38, no. 207 (2002): 341–54; Claudio Aporta and Eric Higgs, "Satellite Culture: Global Positioning Systems, Inuit Wayfinding, and the Need for a New Account of Technology," *Current Anthropology* 46, no. 5 (2005): 729–53; Claudio Aporta and John MacDonald, "An Elder on Sea Ice: An Interview with Aipilik of Igloodik, Nunavut," *Canadian Geographer* 55 (2011): 32–5; Claudio Aporta, "The Trail as Home: Inuit and Their Pan-Arctic Network of Routes," *Human Ecology* 37, no. 2 (2009): 131–46; Claudio Aporta and Charlie Watt, "Arctic Waters as Inuit Homeland," in *Routledge Handbook of Indigenous Peoples in the Arctic*, ed. Timo Koivurova, Else Grete Broderstad, Dorothée Cambou, Dalee Dorough, Florian Stammer (London: Routledge, 2020), 187–205.

22 Inuit names for winds vary from region to region and are established in relationship to contiguous coastlines rather than a fixed marker of 'true North', as in the European system. See: Michael Fortescue, "Eskimo Orientation Systems," *Meddelelser om Grønland, Man and Society* 11 (1988): 3–30.

23 In the Amittuq area, northwesterly winds prevailed in Parry's time, as in modern times. See Paul Kay: "An Early Nineteenth Century Meteorological Register From the Eastern Canadian Arctic," *Polar Record* 31, no. 178 (1995): 335–42. In recent years, Amitturmiut elders have pointed out that the snowdrifts made by the northwest wind are no longer as reliable for navigation as they used to be. This is an effect likely attributable to climate change.

24 MacDonald, *The Arctic Sky*, 175–81.

25 Parry, 252.

26 Ibid., 251.

27 Aporta and Watt, 32–35.

28 This is consistent with Aporta's finding regarding the conceptualization of the Inuit homeland as defined by networks of trails (See Aporta, "The Trail as Home").

29 Extensively documented by Aporta and mapped with a GPS unit in 2009.

30 Aporta and Higgs described how this trail (among others) was associated with the seasonal presence of camps, the travelling needs of dogs and sled runners, and a different perception of place based on seminomadic residence patterns.

31 Aporta, "Life on the Ice," 341–54.

32 'Chart 1' refers to the other chart Iligliuk drew for Parry, which is not illustrated in this essay.

33 MacDonald, *The Arctic Sky*, 188.

34 For example, in the British general election of 1826, a candidate (Lord Lowther) declared of his opponent's chances of winning as unlikely as Captain Parry 'in his next voyage, [discovering] the supposed Passage . . . having already failed three times in the attempt to do so' ("General Election," *The Morning Post* (London), July 1, 1826, 2.

35 "Captain Parry's Voyage," *London Packet and New Lloyd's Evening Post*, March 29, 1824, 2. Iligliuk's intellectual qualities were reported widely in the press, including, for instance, in Dublin's *Saunders's News-Letter and Daily Advertiser*, April 5, 1824.

36 John Barrow, *Voyages of Discovery and Research Within the Arctic Regions, from the Year 1818 to the Present* (London: John Murray, 1846), 131.

The Vanished Arctic

DOLLY JØRGENSEN

The polar bear standing precariously on a small ice floe has become a symbol for climate change and impending animal extinctions in the twenty-first century, but the Canadian Arctic has witnessed earlier extinctions as a result of overhunting by Europeans. Northern bird species, including the great auk and Eskimo curlew, have been lost already. Documents held by the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library record how these birds were described and collected by scientists in the nineteenth century in the face of their dwindling numbers.

A PENGUIN IN NEWFOUNDLAND

The Fisher Library has a rare, coloured engraving of a great auk, which is identified under the picture in a handwritten notation as a 'Newfoundland penguin'. In the library catalogue, the engraving's source is unidentified and tentatively attributed to the nineteenth century. But the engraving was likely removed from a copy of the monumental ornithology survey by George Edwards, the Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians in London, titled *A Natural History of Birds: Most of Which Have Not Been Figur'd or Describ'd, and Others Very Little Known from Obscure or Too Brief Descriptions Without Figures, or from Figures Very Ill Design'd* (published in four parts between 1743 and 1751).¹ This spectacular print showing a full body view of the great auk and a detailed view of the head, appears in the third part, which was published in 1750. Edwards's images were considered to be the best at the time and copies were made for other books, including Johann Michael Seligmann's *Sammlung verschiedener ausländischer und seltener Vögel* ('Collection of various foreign and rare birds', published in Germany, 1749–1764).²



An engraving of the great auk originally from George Edwards, *A Natural History of Birds* (1743–1751), with handwritten notation 'Newfoundland penguin'.



THE GREAT AUK.

Although the great auk was given the scientific name *Alca impennis* in 1758 by Carl Linnaeus, it was renamed *Pinguinus impennis* in 1791. The 'penguin' part had its genesis in the common name that sailors had given the bird. The extremely popular *The English Pilot: The Fourth Book* (an eighteenth-century compendium of sailing directions in the New World), included a drawing of 'pengvins' as a way for pilots to identify that their ship was nearing the banks of Newfoundland.³ In addition, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* includes entries for 'Newfoundland penguin'⁴ and a passage in Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle's *Newfoundland in 1842* noted that 'perhaps the Newfoundland penguin, which has given its name to so many parts of the coast, is the great auk'.⁵

Funk Island in Newfoundland was one of the last roosting places of the great auk in the early nineteenth century. Sailors had regularly stopped on the island to hunt. In 1887, zoologist and taxidermist Frederic Lucas was sent by the United States National Museum (later part of the Smithsonian) on an expedition to Funk Island to look for evidence of great auks.⁶ Lucas found thousands of old great auk bones by making some shallow excavations on the island.⁷ The bird's local 'Newfoundland penguin' name appears to have been appropriate. The last pair of great auks was killed on Eldey island off the coast of Iceland in 1852.⁸ Lucas's report on his expedition included a photograph of a stuffed great auk in the United States National Museum that had been collected from Eldey in 1834. However, the population on Funk Island had likely been killed off earlier in the century.

ESKIMO CURLEW

The Eskimo curlew was a shorebird that bred in Arctic Canada and migrated all the way to the South American pampas for overwintering. The bird was first described and named *Numenius borealis* by J. R. Forster in 1772.⁹ The 'borealis' part of the name signalled its northern location, as the described individual had been collected at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Albany in Ontario. Forster identified it as the 'Esquimaux curlew' and noted that it

'The Great Auk' from Frederic Lucas, 'The Expedition to Funk Island, with Observations upon the History and Anatomy of the Great Auk,' in *Report of the United States National Museum for the Year Ending June 30, 1888* (1890).



was called 'Wee-kee-me-nase-su' by Indigenous people (although he does not specify which group this was).¹⁰

In *Fauna Boreali-Americana; or the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America* (part 2, published in 1831), John Richardson, who was the naturalist on Sir John Franklin's expedition of 1819–1822, wrote that the 'Esquimaux curlew' lived in the 'barren lands within the Arctic circle' during the summer to nest.¹¹ In 1822, Richardson encountered a bird sitting on three eggs that were a 'siskin-green colour, clouded with a few large irregular spots of bright umber-brow' at Point Lake in the Northern Territories. He likely collected the eggs, as he noted that 'when I approached the nest, she [the curlew] ran a short distance, crouching close to the ground, and then

Newfoundland and the Atlantic coast as depicted in *A New and Correct Chart of the North Part of America from New Found Land to Hudsons Bay* (c. 1759) originally included in an edition of *The English Pilot: The Fourth Book*. Note the island labelled "Penguin" referring to North and South Penguin Islands off the northeast coast of Newfoundland.



stopped to observe the fate of the object of her cares'.¹² William Swainson illustrated the *Numenius borealis* entry, detailing the bird's arrowhead-shaped dark spots on its cream-colored breast, blackish-brown feathers with yellow-brown spots on its back and wings, and elegantly-curved beak.

While the Eskimo curlew is known to have commonly nested in Labrador before the 1880s, their northern population dramatically dwindled in the late nineteenth century. The decrease in numbers was primarily because of market hunting along the bird's migration route, but shifting weather patterns during their mass migrations may have also been a factor.¹³ Although live birds were last seen in 1963, the Eskimo curlew is classified as 'critically endangered (possibly extinct)' by the International Union for the Conservation

of Nature, which acts as the global authority for extinction declarations.¹⁴ It is still protected in Canada as an endangered species, yet, in all likelihood, there are no Eskimo curlews left to protect.¹⁵

NOT THE ONLY LOSSES

The great auk and Eskimo curlew have not been the only losses of Canadian birds in the modern era. The Labrador duck (*Camptorhynchus labradorius*), which nested in Labrador and spent the winters as far south as the Northeast coast of the United States, was last seen in 1878 in Elmira, New York. Likewise, the passenger pigeon (*Ectopistes migratorius*), which regularly nested in Ontario, became extinct in 1914 with the death of the last one in the Cincinnati zoological gardens. As climate changes continue to accelerate, endangered migratory birds like the whooping crane will be particularly vulnerable to join these other birds on the extinct list.

Along with a few museum specimens of great auks and Eskimo curlew on display across the world, historical images and descriptions like the ones held by Fisher Library are the primary mode of coming face-to-face with the vanished Arctic.

- 1 George Edwards, *A Natural History of Birds: Most of Which Have not Been Figur'd or Describ'd, and Others Very Little Known From Obscure or Too Brief Descriptions Without Figures, or From Figures Very Ill Design'd*, part III (London: College of Physicians in Warwick-Lane, 1750), 147.
- 2 Johann Michael Seligmann, *Sammlung verschiedener ausländischer und seltener Vögel*, volume 5 (Nuremberg: Fleischmann, 1759), plate no. 42.
- 3 Storrs L. Olson, Leslie Overstreet, and Judith N. Lund, "An Alca-bibliographical Study of *The English Pilot*: The History of its Account of the Great Auk (Alcidae: *Pinguinus impennis*)," *Archives of Natural History* 34, no. 1 (2007): 79–86.
- 4 "Penguin," in *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, ed. G.M. Story, W. J. Korwin, and J. D. A. Widdowson, second edition with supplement, <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/dictionary/index.php#3316>.
- 5 Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, *Newfoundland in 1842: A Sequel to "The Canadas in 1841"*, vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1842), 233.
- 6 Frederic Lucas, "The Expedition to Funk Island, with Observations upon the History and Anatomy of the Great Auk," in *Report of the United States National Museum for the Year Ending June 30, 1888*, Part 2 of the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1888* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1890), 493–529.
- 7 Lucas, 512.
- 8 "Great Auk: *Pinguinus impennis*," *The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species* 2021, August 21, 2025, doi:10.2305/IUCN.UK.2021-3.RLTS.T22694-856A205919631.en.
- 9 J. R. Forster, "An Account of the Birds Sent from Hudson's Bay; With Observations Relative to Their Natural History; and Latin Descriptions of Some of the Most Uncommon," *Philosophical Transactions* 62 (1772), 411.
- 10 Ibid., 411.
- 11 William Swainson and John Richardson, *Fauna Boreali-Americana; Or the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America: Containing Descriptions of the Objects of Natural History Collected on the Late Northern Land Expeditions, Under Command of Captain Sir John Franklin, R.N., Part Second Contained The Birds* (London: John Murray, 1831), 378.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Richard C. Banks, "The Decline and Fall of the Eskimo Curlew, or Why Did the Curlew Go Extaille?" *American Birds* 31, no. 2 (March 1977): 127–34.
- 14 "Eskimo Curlew: *Numenius borealis*," *The IUCN Red List of Threatened Species* 2021, August 31, 2021, doi:10.2305/IUCN.UK.2021-3.RLTS.T226931-70A178901365.en. On the difficulties of labelling a species as extinct, see Dolly Jørgensen, "Presence of Absence, Absence of Presence and Extinction Narratives," in *Nature, Temporality and Environmental Management*, ed. Lesley Head, Katarina Saltzman, Gunhild Setten, and Marie Stensek (Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge, 2017), 45–58.
- 15 "List of Wildlife Species at Risk," Schedule 1 of the Species at Risk Act (S.C. 2002, c. 29), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/s-15.3/page-10.html#h-435647>.

The *Terror* Before Franklin: Lieutenant Owen Stanley's Arctic Watercolours, 1836–1837

MARK A. CHEETHAM

A gem in Fisher Library's extensive collection of Arctic materials is the unique collection of watercolours by Owen Stanley (1811–1850), made when he was an officer under the distinguished Arctic voyager (and accomplished watercolourist) George Back. Back sought the Northwest Passage in the HMS *Terror*, which, with HMS *Erebus*, was lost in John Franklin's tragic Arctic voyage of 1845. That Stanley's home base was one of Franklin's ships that disappeared in the Arctic Archipelago of Nunavut a decade later—entailing an unprecedented loss of life for an exploratory voyage (one hundred and twenty-nine), triggering the largest naval search undertaken to that date (over thirty missions between 1848 and 1859), an enduring industry of scholarly and fictional accounts, and exceptional cinematic responses¹—suggests that the most important fulcrum for British and American travellers to the Arctic west of Kalaallit Nunaat in the nineteenth century was and remains 'before and after Franklin'. To fully appreciate Stanley's contributions to Arctic visibility, however, we should avoid anachronism and suspend his almost coincidental connection to the most infamous Arctic voyage of all.

Stanley's thirty-eight original watercolours were compiled in the early twentieth century as *The Drawings Made by Captain Owen Stanley When on the Arctic Expedition Commanded by Sir George Back in H.M.S. "Terror" 1836 and 1837*. His relative, the historian Henry Edward John Stanley (1827–1903), 3rd Baron Stanley of Alderley and 2nd Baron Eddisbury, was



responsible for this collection. Accompanying explanatory pages on his monogrammed stationery record passages that relate to Owen Stanley's drawings. His sources were Back's *Narrative of an Expedition in H.M.S. Terror, Undertaken with a View to Geographical Discovery on the Arctic Shores, in the Years 1836-7* (1838), and Owen Stanley's logbook, also in the Fisher Library collection ('Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of the N.W. Passage in H.M.S. *Terror*'). The drawings were bound by Sangorski & Sutcliffe between 1901, when the firm began, and 1903, when the Baron died.

Stanley's home in the Arctic was his studio and vice versa.² Picturing the ship as domestic, he frequently painted *Terror* in her 'winter quarters' in the ice. Day-to-day existence aboard ship during Arctic voyages in the nineteenth century was more often a struggle than an adventure. Rare natural phenomena, sightings of unusual animals, and meetings with Inuit were the exception in daily routines.³



In 'Two Mock Suns', Stanley's skillful tinting shows us one of the atmospheric phenomena that the Arctic climate triggers. Early meteorology sought to understand the uniqueness of high latitude occurrences such as the refraction we see here. Recording the date, Stanley inscribes the observation 'a little later two mock suns were formed having the same alt[itude] as the true sun'. His work and that of many other officers consciously contributed to nineteenth-century 'climate science'.⁴ Vivid as this scene is, Stanley and other officers on other journeys made images only as a tertiary activity. As naval officers first and military artists second, they more typically recorded temperatures, winds, and atmospheric pressure numerically in endless graphs and logs, many of which are used for comparative purposes by climatologists today. One of the outbuildings to the right of the

Watercolour by Owen Stanley dated 16 June 1837
showing the HMS *Terror* with laundry hung out to dry.

Terror in this image was the 'Observatory', in which Stanley spent many freezing hours away from the metal of the ship taking magnetic readings. This was the daily tedium of science.

Stanley's painting from 16 June 1837 shows the *Terror* as the crew would see her from the ice, not long before she was released after ten months in winter quarters. Melt water pools in the foreground. Laundry hangs prominently from lines tethered to nearby ice hummocks fore and aft. Decorative though it is, the exhibition of drying clothes (seen in many other watercolours and photographs from the Arctic at this time) underlines the inextricability of scientific observation, technological striving, and the routines of Arctic voyaging. Less anecdotal than it might appear, the image shows one solution to an abiding problem on these voyages: wet clothing. Outdoor laundry lines functioned well enough in relatively mild weather, but in the long winters, crews remained below deck or under a canvas superstructure on deck as much as possible (called 'housing-in'). A published view of 'Winter Quarters' by Walter William May (1831–1896), from a later voyage, shows elaborate fortifications against the weather.⁵ Roofed ships and outbuildings formed a village on the ice. Not without irony, such places were given names borrowed from the mother country.

Laundry lines signal the importance of hygiene, of damp as a major challenge to nineteenth-century seafaring technology, and on the broadest plane, attempts to understand and mitigate the ecology of the Arctic. The British had pioneered steam heating aboard ships heading north, but this comfort precipitated another problem. The warmth provided inside the floating homes often differed greatly from temperatures outside. The result was rampant moisture and its unhealthy effects, including links to scurvy. Heated 'drying rooms' were designed but not entirely successful.

Art History does not adequately recognize and examine everyday images of Arctic voyaging, preferring to lionize their more dramatic and sometimes melodramatic nineteenth-century counterparts, especially the 'Arctic Sublime'.⁶ Stanley's Arctic watercolours also remain little-known because

of their unpublished status: he was not senior enough to circulate his views publicly as did Back, and he died young. As an officer, Stanley was taught watercolour technique and the conventions of the picturesque and sublime at the Royal Naval College, 1824–1826, but in these early Arctic views, he did not seem to edit or amplify his observations to meet public expectations. Working in a systematic, quotidian manner, he recorded the numerical and visual data required by the admiralty and unpretentiously visualized both the wonder and tedium of shipboard domestic life for Arctic voyagers.

1 Especially memorable is the AMC TV series *The Terror* (2018), based on Dan Simmons novel of 2007. Less sensationalistic, more self-conscious about the hubris of Arctic exploration at this time, and more authentically inclusive of Inuit perspectives is the docudrama *Passage* (2008), directed by John Walker, which focuses on Hudson Bay Company explorer Dr. John Rae.

2 On the physical and conceptual connections between home and studio in nineteenth-century Britain, see Amy C. Wallace, "Vehicles of Truth: Portable Studios and Nineteenth-Century British Landscape Painting, 1856–1885," in *British Art and the Environment: Changes, Challenges, and Responses Since the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède (New York: Routledge, 2021), 27–42.

3 Encounters with *qallunaat* (white people) from Inuit perspectives are detailed in Dorothy Eber, *Encounters on the Passage: Inuit Meet the Explorers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

4 It was in 1849 that John F. W. Herschel codified what naval officers needed to know about the natural world in *A Manual of Scientific Inquiry: Prepared for the Use of Her Majesty's Navy, and Adapted for Travellers in General* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849). Charles Darwin contributed the essay on geology; Herschel wrote on meteorology.

5 Published in William Walter May, *A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made During the Voyage Up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin* (London: Day and Son) 1855.

6 Chauncey C. Loomis, "The Arctic Sublime," in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. U.C. Knoepfelmacher and G.B. Tennyson (Berkeley, 1977), 95–112.

A Fever for Arctic Printing

HESTER BLUM

Nineteenth-century Arctic expeditionary ships often carried an unexpected machine among their provisions: a printing press. Why would an Arctic crew—which typically over-wintered in the ice, out of contact with the temperate world—need a press, an instrument commonly used for broad-based publication and circulation? Recordkeeping was routine on maritime voyages in the form of logbooks, journals, and correspondence, but shipboard presses were not used by Arctic expedition members to preserve official records. Instead, Arctic presses produced an unconventional miscellany: ship newspapers and gazettes; notices printed on silk and lofted by fire balloon; cairn messages; playbills and songs for shipboard theatrical performances; and commemorative menus for special meals. The lively (but little-known) body of Arctic ephemera shows polar sailors turning to printed media to create shipboard community and mark their time in environmental extremity. Several items in the *Arctic Fever* exhibition emerge from this tradition: they include an original prologue spoken by the ‘Hyperborean King’ for a theatrical production at 75° North latitude (printed on silk), as well as the collection *Arctic Miscellanies*, which features articles from the HMS *Assistance*’s shipboard newspaper *Aurora Borealis* (including descriptions of polar printing and ship performances). In what follows, I situate these ephemeral works within a tradition of polar expeditionary printing and community building that had evolved significantly from the first Arctic Newspaper, the manuscript *North Georgia Gazette*, and *Winter Chronicle*, which was later printed in somewhat expurgated form.¹

ROYAL
INTREPID SALOON.

GRAND ATTRACTION!

On Thursday the 19th. of December 1850,
the Performance will commence with the
Twelve celebrated GYMNASTIC Figures,
with Come Song between the performances;
when the following talented Company will
appear, & go through their wonderful feats of
strength and activity!

Messrs.

Lewis, Urquhart, & Morgan.

To be followed by a variety of
SONGS, RECITATIONS, &c.

Doors open at 6 o'clock. Commence at 6-30
N. B. Children in arms not admitted.

Griffith's Island Printing Office.

An Apprentice much wanted.

Printing presses were originally brought to the Arctic not for leisure or boosting morale, but to assist in the broad dispersal of long-shot rescue messages in the search for the missing British Northwest Passage expedition commanded by Sir John Franklin (1786–1847). The intended function of the presses was to print short notes—on coloured silk or oiled paper—bearing the location of search vessels and other information of potential aid to the lost men. The messages would then be cast aloft, tied to hydrogen balloons in the vain hope that they might find a reader. Sherard Osborn, whose memoir of the Franklin search *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* is included in this exhibition, described the balloon message plan as a ‘novel attempt for distant signaling, or rather, intercommunication’.² The balloon messages were not successful, but Arctic explorers soon made more productive work of the printing presses aboard ships, passing the dark winter hours by adapting the technology to periodical and theatrical ends. ‘There were no printers in the squadron’, the preface to *Arctic Miscellanies* reports, ‘but some of the officers soon learned the art; and besides balloon-papers, play-bills, and announcements of fancy dress balls, were regularly sent to press’.³ An article from the *Aurora Borealis* (reprinted in *Arctic Miscellanies*) entitled ‘The Rise and Progress of Printing in the Arctic Searching Expeditions’—in just the first year of Arctic printing—documents how the crew moved quickly to bring their own ‘industry and artistic merit’ to transform the materials on hand. ‘The press, and materials belonging to it, were only sufficient for the purpose of printing the papers attached to the balloon’, we learn; ‘hence a limit was placed to the ambition’ of the expedition members. Refusing to accept such limitations, the *Aurora* reports, the crew carved new large-type capital fonts and other emblems.⁴ An example of the hand-carved capitals that adorned many Arctic playbills can be seen in the words ‘INTREPID SALOON’ on the event notice printed at the ‘Griffith’s Island Printing Office’.

In the polar regions, printed ephemera bears a special charge. As a genre of textual production, ephemera records temporary moments, instances in time; the material artifacts and texts themselves are neither crafted to last nor presumed to merit preservation beyond souvenir status. The etymology

of the term is ironic in polar contexts: 'ephemera' comes from the Greek *ἐφήμερος* or *ephēmeros*, lasting only one day. At latitudes well beyond 66.6°N in the land of the midnight sun and the polar night, the sun may only rise and set once per winter, and thus the single day that ephemera are meant to last can have a months-long duration. When safely back home, expeditions produced weighty volumes of their voyages in substantial print runs for an eager public; yet while icebound during a winter darkness that lasted for several months, expeditions printed light, insider works just for themselves, as if on locked social media accounts among intimates.

SHIPBOARD THEATRICALS AND NEWSPAPERS

Shipboard theatricals were a staple of British naval recreation throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the practice continued in the Circumpolar North. They were enthusiastically documented in Arctic ephemera and popular with sailors, despite open-air performance temperatures as low as the teens.⁵ In addition to popular farces of the nineteenth century, Arctic theatres staged a series of original circumpolar productions. The plays, songs, and monologues written *in situ* included the *Arctic Pantomime of Zero, or Harlequin Light*, a farce featuring evil spirits named 'Frost-Bite', 'Scorbutus' (scurvy), and 'Hunger'. As the synopsis provided in *Arctic Miscellanies* explains, the farce stages 'the dangers and inconveniences to which [the sailors] are exposed in these inhospitable climates' as malign spirits who are 'continually watching every opportunity to surprise an unfortunate travelling party, till at length their power is destroyed by the appearance of the more puissant good spirits, Sun and Daylight.'⁶ It proved a hit; according to extant playbills, the *Pantomime of Zero* had a long run at the Royal Arctic Theatre.

But if theatricals were mainstays of naval life, shipboard newspapers were anomalous, a quirk of the region and its environmental conditions.⁷ This was a genre decision: in the Arctic, newspapers did not so much regulate daily time as call attention to (and help relieve) its eccentricity. The form of the newspaper is by definition periodic, marking daily time. But as



PROLOGUE

to the opening of the

THEATRE ROYAL, MELVILLE ISLAND;

H. M. S. RESOLUTE; Capt. H. KELLETT, C. B.

November 23d. 1852.

Written for the occasion, by G. F. Mc Dougall Esq. and spoken by
Dr. W. T. Domville; in character, as the "Hyperborean King".

Tis now some two and thirty years ago,
This region of eternal Ice and Snow,
Was first discovered, by one Edward Parry;
Who near this spot eleven months did tarry;
Ice-bound, as you are now: like you in hope,
Next Season's summer sun, the Ice might ope.
Their coming here I deemed a great intrusion,
And thought to cover all with dire confusion:
Frostitutes I sent, and covered them with scars;
They murmured not, but laughed! like jolly British Tars.
I now forgave them, for I could not feel resentment,
Gainst men, who 'midst privation, had contentment.
You're welcome for their sakes, I can't dissemble,
For you, your persevering predecessors do resemble,
In everything; including killing deer; and even my Musk-Oxon,
You coolly shoot, and then with musket knocks 'em
Down; their carcasses next skin, and bear off;
Whilst not a particle of meat, I get a share of.
But I overlook it all; you see I've come to day,
To join you as of old, in forwarding the play.
Well 'tis a splendid House: quite equals Parry's,
And far surpasses that of Mr. Barry's
Houses of Parliament! for you I see don't need,
The ventilating process, used by Doctor Reid.
And Brothers! for such we are, by common consanguinity,
Let us live as such, in constant unanimity:
Take exercise, be cheerful, and care throw aside;
Cold, darkness, and monotony, you may thus deride.
For even here, that Cherub sweet, with heart so kind and soft,
The life of Jack holds dear; She's watching now, aloft!
Last spring, a Herald from the Tchoutsch's King,
Told me this season to my Realms would bring,
A 'Resolute', and 'Intrepid' band: and bid me tell it,
In order to surprise his friend, their leader, Captain Kellett.

(A Bell rings.)

But hark! a Bell! ah! that's a hint to close my long oration;
They're anxious to appear my friends, to gain your approbation:
But remember they're beginners! and I know they've fondly reckoned,
On your kindness, to gloss lightly o'er, the faults of Charles the Second.

Melville Island Press.

polar winter is characterized by months without a sunrise, the periodicity of Arctic newspapers marks the weirdness of expeditionary time. Their playfulness likely reflects this weirdness, too. Polar periodicals were produced in great part for a reading audience comprised of the mission's crew members. While their isolation was not complete—in the Arctic, Anglo-American explorers had frequent contact with Inuit and other Indigenous peoples, and routinely employed Inuit guides—Anglo-American expedition members, in their cultural chauvinism, imagined themselves at a supreme distance from others. Unlike the abstracted, invisible, 'imagined communities' of Benedict Anderson's classic formulation regarding newspapers, though, polar periodicals were produced in the laps of their readership and were generally comic or parodic.⁸ Contributions to polar newspapers, for instance, focused on interpersonal or canine affairs (intrigues among the sled dogs were a popular topic); the scientific and exploratory aims of the missions themselves rarely made the pages of the gazettes. The poetry that appears in Arctic printing is droll and aspires to wit. Examples include special occasion menus in verse ('The Dessert's much as usual—you'll all know the reason / 'Tis difficult here to get things out of season'),⁹ as well as complaints about polar problems like condensation ('And in the middle of the night / In our sleeping bags there's a riot. / Someone turns and screws about, / And gets in such a pet, / Says he cannot sleep any more, / 'Cause his sleeping bag is wet').¹⁰ The prologue to the opening performance of the Arctic Theatre Royal in 1852 both joked about the amateur standing of the players and offered some advice for hyperborean survival: 'And Brothers! For such are we through common consanguinity, / Let us live as such, in constant unanimity: / Take exercise, be cheerful, and care throw aside; / Cold, darkness, and monotony you may thus deride'.¹¹ And yet this content threw into relief—even as it was designed to minimize—the time and distance between the expeditions' location and resources, and the usual journalistic and theatrical forms they were parodying.

POLAR PRINTING

Albert Hastings Markham's account of the British Arctic Expedition of 1875–1876 notes that each ship in the expedition 'had been provided, before leaving England, with a printing-press, and an officer and seaman had been instructed in its use'.¹² The printers issued a prospectus for their printing 'firm', as Markham calls it, which promised that they would 'carry on the Noble Art of Printing in a Style & with a Rapidity hitherto quite unattainable'.¹³ Markham was cheered by the effects of the press on the expedition:

Our printing-press was, it is almost needless to say, of great use to us during the winter; for, although it never printed very much for the public service, it was constantly called into requisition for the purpose of striking off programmes for our dramatic and other entertainments; and on such important events as birthdays and Christmas-day we indulged in the extravagance of printed bills of fare. On the whole the printing establishment on board the 'Alert' tended very materially to beguile the tedium of our long nights, and must therefore be regarded as a decided success.¹⁴

Provocatively, Markham here makes a distinction between the 'public service' in support of which the printing press could be put to use, and its counterpart—which would presumably constitute the 'private'. The public service would likely be linked to the expedition's mission to attempt the North Pole (Markham was second in command of George Nares's British Arctic Expedition), although he notes that the press is not employed to this end. The expedition members take it up instead for their private use: which, crucially, does not mean *individual* use. The private function performed by the press attends to the ship's body as a whole in printing 'programmes for our dramatic and other entertainments', as Markham writes, as well as 'printed bills of fare' for communal holiday meals and birthday celebrations. If newspapers customarily have a public function in the

Wm Astor
1821
THE

NORTH GEORGIA GAZETTE,

AND

WINTER CHRONICLE.



LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXI.

broadly dispersed imagined community of the nation, Arctic newspapers violate one of the definitions of a public in the sense that every one of its members is intimately known to one another.

The 'constant' use described by Markham and other patrons of polar printing—as well as the distinction between public and private—might have been a surprise to William Edward Parry, whose first Northwest Passage expedition inaugurated the Arctic newspaper practice. In the manuscript *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle* (1819–1820), the question of community was quite explicitly debated within the paper itself, as contributors staged a rhetorical battle between themselves and the 'N.C.s' or non-contributors to the paper. Parry's intent had been otherwise. 'In order still further to promote good-humour among ourselves, as well as to furnish amusing occupation, during the hours of constant darkness', he wrote, the ship would 'set on foot a weekly newspaper'. He hoped the gazette would serve the purpose of 'diverting the mind from the gloomy prospect which would sometimes obtrude itself on the stoutest heart'.¹⁵ The newspaper's charge to bring recreation and pleasure to its intimate sphere of circulation, however, was spikier than Parry had anticipated. Over the course of its issues, the newspaper's sense of fun and play began to curdle over a dramatic feud between the Contributors and the 'N.C.s' to the paper. In response to 'the interest which the Public took in all that had passed during the voyage', the *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle* was printed in London a year after the expedition's return.¹⁶ But articles that suggested that the mission's collectivity was fragile or threatened, even if humorous, were suppressed; only a mild handful of references to the noncontributors appears in the printed volume. Even though the tone of both the printed and the excised articles was satirical, the rhetorical playfulness of the attacks on the N.C.s could not disguise a very serious concern: that not all expedition members were fairly sharing in the mission's labours and rewards. The broader effect was that neither Parry nor any other Arctic commanders would attempt another shipboard newspaper for nearly thirty years.

The example of the *North Georgia Gazette*, and *Winter Chronicle* is key to reading the rich body of Arctic newspapers and other ephemera that would ensue later in the century. Parry's example is a cautionary tale whose lesson was well learned by the time Arctic newspapers had become routine: shipboard literary and theatrical entertainment must be open to (and produced by) all classes of seamen, not just officers. In the *Aurora Borealis*, for example 'articles were contributed by the commanders, officers and men of the expedition. Some of the papers are from the pen of the venerable Admiral Sir John Ross, and others, and not the least interesting, are from rough and weather-beaten tars before the mast.¹⁷ The ship-wide community formed in environmental extremity by polar explorers reflects the nature of Arctic evanescence itself. Ephemera record moments in time; in passing the tedium of polar winters, Arctic explorers marked the ephemeral nature of icebound expeditionary communities out of diurnal time.

1 For a fuller account of polar expeditionary printing glossed in this chapter, see Hester Blum, *The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

2 Sherard Osborn, "The Rise and Progress of Arctic Printing," in *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search by the Officers and Seamen of the Expedition* (London: Colburn & Co., 1852), 246. In his narrative of the Franklin search, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal*, Osborn describes the wild gambit in detail: 'A balloon of oiled silk, capable of raising about a pound weight when inflated, was filled with hydrogen To the base of the balloon, when inflated, a piece of slow match five feet long was attached, its lower end being lighted. Along this match, at certain intervals, pieces of coloured paper and silk were secured with thread, and on them the information as to our position and intended lines of search were printed. The balloon, when liberated, sailed rapidly along, rising withal, and as the match burnt the papers were gradually detached, and falling, spread themselves on the snow, where their glaring colours would soon attract notice, should they happily fall near the poor fellows in the "Erebus" and "Terror"' (Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal, or, Eighteen Months in the Polar Regions: In Search of Sir John Franklin's Expedition, in the Years 1850–51* [London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852], 172–3).

3 Osborn, *Arctic Miscellanies*, xiii.

4 *Ibid.*, 246–7.

5 As ship's surgeon, Alexander Fisher notes that during a performance on William Edward Parry's first expedition of the original five-act play *The North West Passage: or, the Voyage Finished*, the temperature 'was as low as 19° during the whole time; but the pleasure they derived from seeing a scene exhibiting their own character in so favourable a point of view, completely overcame any inconvenience they may have suffered from the state of the weather' (Alexander Fisher, *A Journal of a Voyage of Discovery to the Arctic Regions: In His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper, in the Years 1819 and 1820* [London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821], 165–6).

6 Osborn, *Arctic Miscellanies*, 204–5.

7 The Arctic expeditionary newspapers published in the second half of the nineteenth century include the following Anglophone papers: *The Flight of the Plover, or the North Pole Charivari* (1848); the *Illustrated Arctic News* (1850–1851) and the *Aurora Borealis* (1850–1851), companion papers by sister ships engaged in the search for Franklin; *The Gleaner and Minavilins* (1850–1851), underground papers suppressed by ship commanders; *The Weekly Guy* (1852–1853); *The Queen's Illuminated Magazine* (1852–1854); the *Polar Almanac* (1854); the *Ice-Blink* (1853–1855); the *Port Foulke Weekly News* (1860–1861); *The Discovery News* (1875–1876); *The Arctic Moon* (1882–1883); *Midnight Sun* (1901); and *The Arctic Eagle* (1903–1904). More than half of the British and American commanders of Arctic expeditions in the nineteenth century were involved at some point with a shipboard newspaper. Periodicals were not confined to Anglo-American ventures; the German Arctic expedition led by Carl Koldewey aboard the *Hansa* (1869–1870) published the *Ostgrönländische Zeitung*, and Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen's *Fram* expedition (1893–1896) circulated the manuscript newspaper *Framsjaa*. Mawson's Australasian Antarctic Expedition published the *Adelie Blizzard* (1911–1914) at the end of the Heroic Age of polar exploration.

8 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

9 "Menu," British Arctic Expedition 1875–1876, MS 1479; D (Playbills, poems, etc, 48 leaves), Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.

10 C. W. Emmerson, "The Arctic Twins," British Arctic Expedition 1875–1876, MS 1479, Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge.

11 George F. McDougall, *Prologue to the Opening of the Theatre Royal, Melville Island* (Melville Island: Melville Island Press, 1852).

12 Albert Hastings Markham, *The Great Frozen Sea: A Personal Narrative of the Voyage of the "Alert" During the Arctic Expedition of 1875–6* (London: Daldy, Isbister, 1878), 189.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., 190–91.

15 William Edward Parry, *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific* (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1821), 99.

16 Edward Sabine, "Advertisement" [Appendix], *North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, in Parry, iii.

17 Osborn, *Arctic Miscellanies*, xiii–xviii.

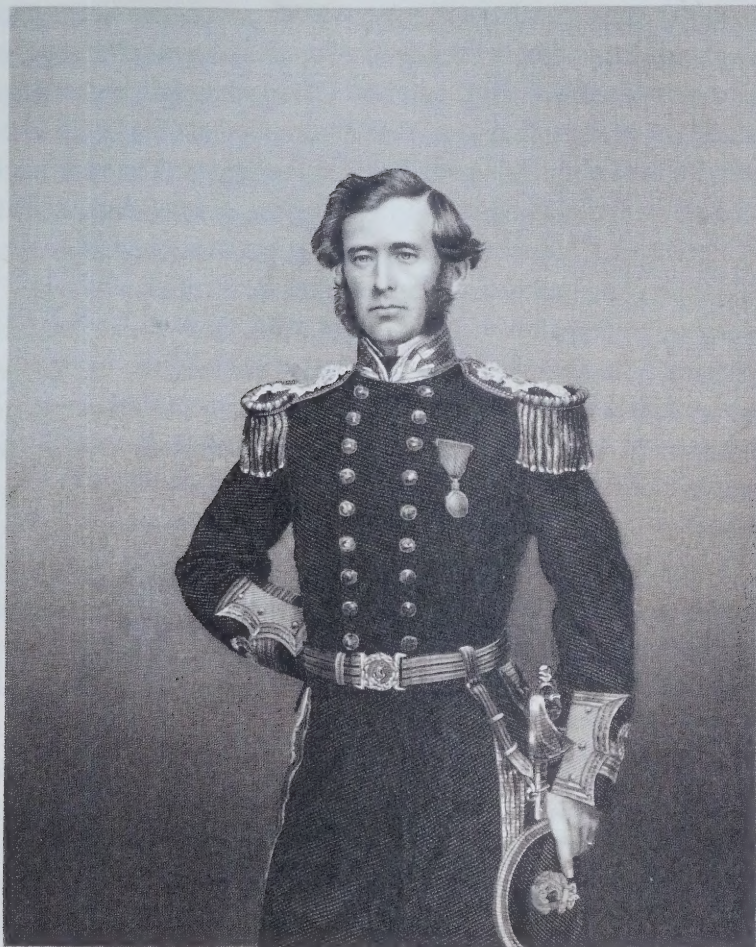
'A Welcome, Though a Painful, Gift': Lieutenant John Cheyne's Photographic Stereoscopic Views of the Franklin Relics

ANTHONY HAMBER

The Franklin Relics were found at a variety of locations on King William Island in May 1859 by the party led by Captain Francis Leopold McClintock (1819–1907), commander of the *Fox*.¹ McClintock was an experienced searcher for the Franklin Relics, having joined a series of expeditions, the first in 1848. Sir John Franklin had gone missing in 1845 on his third and final expedition, in an attempt to traverse the Northwest Passage. In 1848, with no news of her husband, Lady Jane Franklin (1791–1875) pressed the Admiralty to launch a search. A number of artefacts from Franklin's last expedition were subsequently located, but those discovered by McClintock and his party were the most significant and gained the most public attention.

Lady Franklin was already aware of the potential of photography at the time of her husband's departure. She commissioned one of the leading London photographers, Richard Beard (1801–1885), to take Daguerreotype portraits of all fourteen of the officers of the two ships in Franklin's expedition, HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror*. In the event, Beard took multiple portraits of each sitter.² One set of the fourteen daguerreotype portrait photographs was reproduced as a set of wood engravings by Frederick James Smyth (active 1841–1867) on a full-page illustration in the *Illustrated London News* (13 September 1851). A daguerreotype camera and its associated equipment was also on board the *Erebus* when it set sail.³

¹'Captain Sir Leopold M'Clintock, R.N. LL.D. Discoverer of the Remains of Sir John Franklin Expedition', steel engraving by Daniel J. Pound after a photograph by John Cheyne from Volume 5, *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (1861).



Engraved by J. H. Smith, from a photograph by J. H. Smith.

CAPTAIN

SIR LEOPOLD M. CLINTOCK, R.N., V.C.

Director of the Fisheries of the Hong Kong and Canton

THE LONDON BOOK COMPANY, 15, ABchurch Lane, LONDON, E.C. 4.

Printed and Published by the same.

Following the discoveries of May 1859, the *Fox* made its way to the Port of Qeqertarsuaq (Godhavn) on the west coast of Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), arriving there on 29 July. On Friday 23 September 1859, the *Fox* docked at the quayside at the Basin of the East India Docks in Blackwall, off the north side of the River Thames in East London. However, the Franklin Relics were not on board. When the *Fox* had dropped anchor off Portsmouth on Wednesday 21 September, the *Alarm* pilot-boat had brought Captain McClintock and two cases containing the Relics ashore, where, on landing, he had proceeded with them to London by train.⁴

As preferred by Franklin's widow, and with the permission of McClintock and the Admiralty, the Franklin Relics were assembled at the United Service Institute on Whitehall (hereafter USI). Twelve cases with glass tops were constructed to display the majority of the smaller artefacts. These were placed on the Trafalgar Table, a case measuring eighteen feet by ten feet that was made from timber taken from HMS *Victory*, the one hundred-gun flagship of Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758–1805) in his victory at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805). Surprisingly little has been written about the stereoscopic photographs of John Powles Cheyne (1827–1902). There are few contemporary references, curious given the popularity of both visual and textual information about Franklin and his relics. Recent biographical accounts add little detail.⁵ Logan Zachary, however, has recently published his extensive research on the alternate versions of Cheyne's stereoscopic views, evidencing the multiple negatives he took and the type of stereoscopic camera he used.⁶

What role McClintock played in advancing Cheyne's photographic project has yet to be established, though Cheyne's printed catalogue accompanying the stereoscopic 'slides' mentions the Captain: 'By Permission of Lady Franklin and Capt. Sir Leopold M'Clintock'. Most significantly, the *Fox* had at least one photographer onboard, since the ship's surgeon, Dr. David Walker (1837–1917) took photographs during the expedition of 1857–1859. McClintock refers to Walker, who was only twenty years old when the *Fox* sailed, as undertaking the 'photographic department' and using the albumen

on glass process. Walker took a general view of the *Fox* trapped in ice off Cape York, Baffin Bay during the winter of 1857–1858.⁷ In his 1859 account, however, McClintock made no reference to Cheyne or his photographic publication. Logic suggests that Walker would have been the natural choice as the photographer of the Franklin Relics, particularly since he had taken stereoscopic views as a crew member.⁸ Yet he did not actively put himself forward as the potential photographer and evidence indicates that Cheyne wished to undertake the whole venture himself.

THE GESTATION OF THE PUBLICATION

McClintock's search for Franklin, driven and funded by Lady Franklin, became a focus for mid-Victorian Britain. The 1859 discovery of the remains of Franklin's last expedition confirmed his death in 1847. The artefacts retrieved underlined his religious faith and, as central displays at the USI, they were elevated to the status of 'relics', acquiring an almost religious status of heroic self-sacrifice for Franklin and his colleagues. Cheyne turned the Franklin Relics into a commercial opportunity that he could exploit. Whether Cheyne was in competition with others to produce commercially available photographs of the Franklin Relics has yet to be established, though he was aware of the threat.

CHEYNE AS A PHOTOGRAPHER

In 1859, Cheyne was on naval half-pay. He had served on three Arctic explorations and was with McClintock on the 1850–1851 Arctic Searching Expedition under Captain Horatio Thomas Austin (1800–1865). He was well placed to leverage his social network to support his proposed photographic publication. While in 1860 *The Photographic Journal* (Photographic Society of London) described him as 'a capital amateur photographer'⁹ and another source stated 'the execution of these slides [stereoscopic photographs] seems very good',¹⁰ there is no record of Cheyne being a member of the Photographic Society of London, or any photographic society. No other photographs by Cheyne were exhibited or have been identified or

located. Close examination of the stereoscopic slides indicates somewhat poor production values. In addition, the card mounts of the stereoscopic views are left blank and there are neither printed numbers to match the printed catalogue nor printed captions. It is possible that Cheyne was assisted in taking, printing, and manufacturing the photographs. A tentative suggestion is that David Walker may have trained Cheyne in photography, though Cheyne may have found another instructor or read a published manual on photography.

THE SUBSCRIBER'S LIST

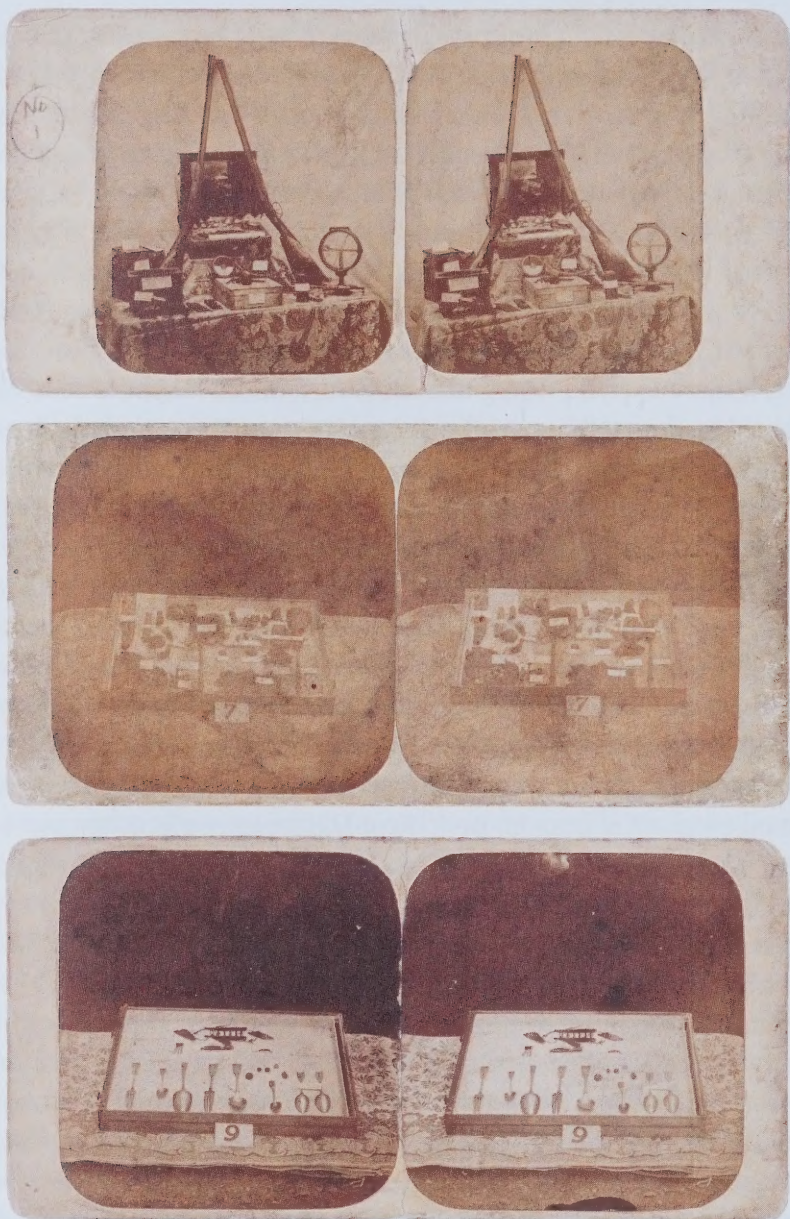
Cheyne used the common subscription model to market and sell his photographic publication. This enabled him to restrict his initial financial outlay. At 21 shillings (or one guinea), the set of fourteen stereo views, together with a box to hold them, a printed catalogue, and a marketing flyer, was not excessively priced. While no initial advertisements or prospectus calling for subscribers has been located, in January 1861, a year after the stereoscopic slides were first available, Cheyne published a printed marketing flyer that included a list of subscribers (up to 10 January 1861).¹¹ This list was made up of one hundred names, some of whom bought multiple sets. One hundred and ninety-nine sets were ordered, twenty-nine by serving members of the Royal Navy, some of whom had been on Arctic expeditions. Lady Franklin and her niece, Sophia Cracroft (1816–1892), ordered seventeen sets. Twenty-four sets were ordered for 'Tasmania', where Franklin had been Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land from 1839 to 1843. Cheyne's own father, Captain George Cheyne (1788–1865), subscribed for seven sets. The poet Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), whose aunt by marriage was Lady Franklin, subscribed for one copy. While Tennyson did not write a specific poem about John Franklin or his 'relics', he did provide the famous inscription on the monument to Franklin in Westminster Abbey by Matthew Noble (1817–1876), unveiled on the last day of July 1875, shortly after the death of Lady Franklin.¹² The artist Edward William Cooke (1811–1880), subscribed to no fewer than ten sets. Around 1850 he had painted *Erebus and Terror, Sir John*

Franklin's Expedition and, in 1860, Cooke exhibited his painting of HMS *Terror* at the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic at Falmouth and the Royal Academy of Art exhibition in London. We do not know why he needed ten sets. Similarly, why Walter Hawkins (1787–1862), British ship and insurance broker, antiquarian, and numismatist, subscribed for twelve sets remains to be established. McClintock's *Fox* expedition was partly funded by Lady Franklin, together with 239 subscribers who contributed a total of £2981 8s. 9d. to the costs of the expedition. Only ten of these 'subscribers' also subscribed to the set of Cheyne's stereoscopic views. The most significant of these were Ashhurst Majendie (1784–1867) and his wife, Frances (elder sister of Lady Franklin), who donated £100 to the *Fox* expedition. Their servants donated 14 shillings.

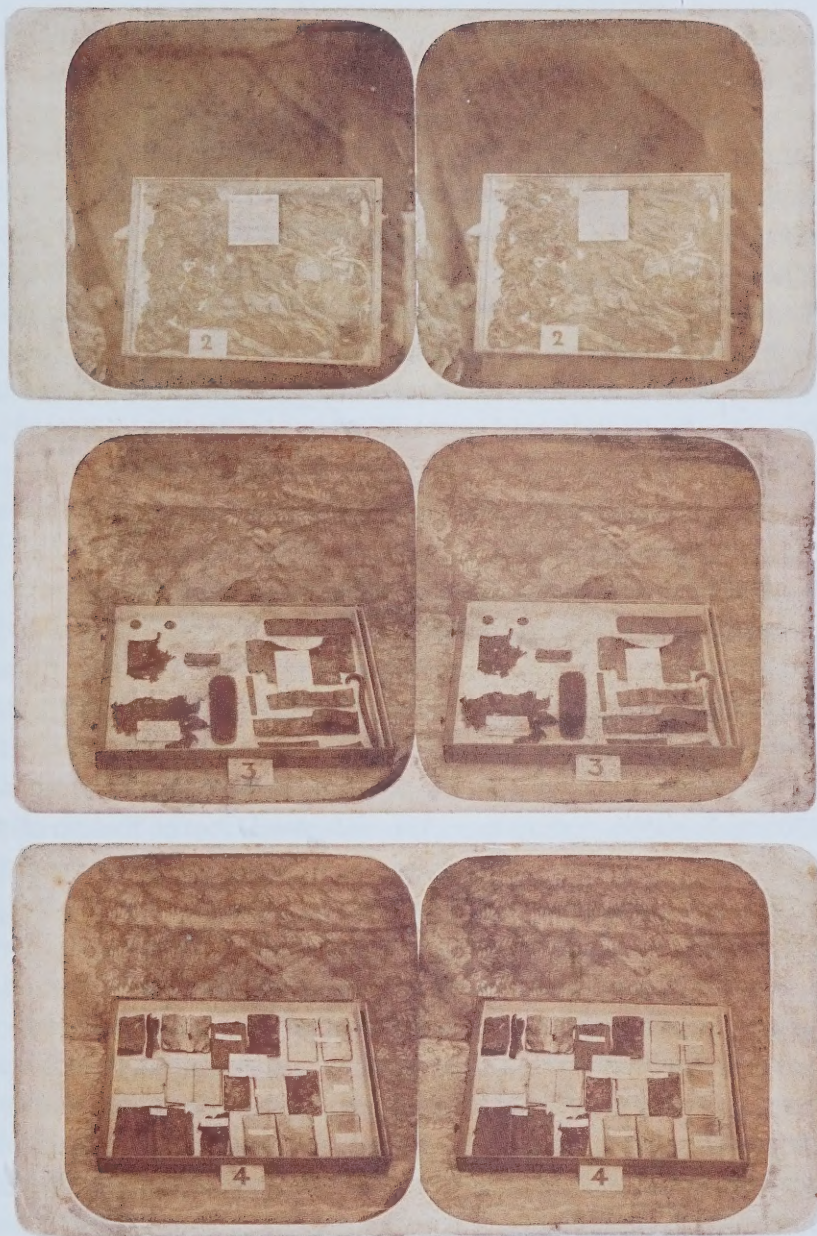
THE CAMERA

Why Cheyne decided to take stereo photographs of the Franklin Relics may be explained by the contemporary popularity of this format, which rose following the display of photographs at the 1851 Great Exhibition and the production of a number of photographic stereoscopic views of the Crystal Palace and its exhibits.¹³ The London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company, amongst others, was exploiting the popularity of the photographic stereoscopic view. The popular periodical *The Stereoscopic Magazine* had commenced publication in July 1858 and underlined the market for photographically illustrated publications.

The camera used to take the stereoscopic images of the Franklin Relics was not a dual lens stereoscopic camera but a single lens apparatus.¹⁴ This system requires the photographer to take one photograph for one of the stereoscopic images, then move the camera to the predefined position along the same axis to take the accompanying image.¹⁵ Single lens stereo cameras were employed at this time by large commercial photographic companies, such as Adolphe Braun of Dornach, offering a number of advantages for Cheyne given the physical constraints of the USI. First was that it was small in size and employed a small lens of a short focal length. In



John Powles Cheyne's stereographs numbered one, seven, and nine depicting Franklin 'relics', including 'two double barrel guns' 'found in the boat with the two skeletons' (#1); miscellaneous shot, cartridges and other items from the same boat (#7); and silverware and buttons 'obtained from the Boothian [Inuit], near the Magnetic Pole' (#9). Full descriptions can be found in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Fourteen Stereoscopic Slides of the Franklin Relics* (1860).



Cheyne stereographs number two, three, and four of Franklin 'relics', including 'fragments of a boat's ensign', 'found at the Northern Cairn, near Cape Felix' (#2); items of clothing 'found lying about the skeletons, 9 miles east of Cape Herschel' (#3); and books including a copy of *The Vicar of Wakefield* (#4).

combination, this allowed much shorter camera exposure times than were needed by conventional contemporary cameras.

TAKING THE PHOTOGRAPHS

Establishing the timeline from when the Franklin Relics were first on display and confirmation that the stereoscopic slide set was available (and being reviewed) provides a window for Cheyne's photographs. The Franklin Relics were in London by 21 September 1859 and were unpacked and distributed in twelve display boxes. Some loose 'relics' were also displayed on the Trafalgar table: the medicine chest (found on 6 May 1859), a chart depicting where the 'relics' had been found, and 'relics' found prior to McClintock's *Fox Expedition* discoveries.

The minutes of the USI Council meeting, held on 2 January 1860, noted that two letters had been received from Cheyne. The first requested that he be permitted to convey 'the record of the Franklin Relics' to his house 'for the purpose of photographing it'. The Council concluded it did not have the power to permit this request, but that Cheyne could photograph the document in the Institution. The second letter requested that the Council refuse any further applications to photograph the Franklin Relics, since, given his investment to date, this would result in a 'serious loss'. While the Council declined to make such a commitment, they informed Cheyne that no other applications to photograph the Relics had been received.¹⁶ These letters support the view that Cheyne had already undertaken photography by the end of December 1859.

In a letter to Cheyne, dated 28 January 1860, Lady Franklin supported his project: she had 'no objection to the publication of your descriptive Catalogue of the Relics', 'nor to the publication of the beautiful Photographs you have made'. She also noted that it gave her much satisfaction that these publications 'should have been undertaken and worthily executed by an officer who has himself served with great credit in three Arctic Expeditions'.¹⁷ This letter seems to confirm two critical points; first, that Lady Franklin had actually examined some of Cheyne's photographs, and that she had not

been previously consulted regarding his proposed photographic publication. One may assume that Cheyne negotiated this permission to photograph directly with McClintock and then the Council of the USI, perhaps hoping that they might act on his behalf with Lady Franklin.

Further confirmation of the availability of Cheyne's set of stereoscopic views is found in the record of the Evening Meeting of the USI (30 January 1860), where it notes 'Fourteen Stereoscopic Slides of the Franklin Relics. 1 large photograph of 'The Record' in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution. Presented by Lieut. Cheyne, R.N.'¹⁸ In the minutes of the Institution's Council meeting held on 5 November 1860, reference was made to a letter from Cheyne requesting permission to take further negatives of some of the Relics. The Council acceded to Cheyne's request.¹⁹ Why did Cheyne need to take further negatives? Was there damage to the existing negatives, or an increase in the number of subscribers to the set? How were the stereographs photographed? Cheyne created a temporary studio, setting and moving the relic cases from the Trafalgar Table to a separate, much smaller, table covered with a decorative cloth.²⁰ He then suspended a sheet behind the table to exclude the background. In Nos. 3 and 4, the decorative material has been extended to form the backcloth. He took stereoscopic views of each object, employing multiple, slightly variant negatives. This was standard practice to minimize the chance of underexposed or out of focus negatives, and the risk of damage to a negative during printing. To photograph the glass-topped cases, Cheyne tilted them up slightly with some form of support. He had not built a copy stand that would enable him to produce fully 'squared-up' views of the cases taken directly from above, since they sat flat on the Trafalgar Table. It is possible that this tilted position reduced ambient reflections from the glass covers on the cases.

Fourteen stereos were initially published, as per the printed catalogue that accompanied the set. Although not in the stereoscopic format, Cheyne added a fifteenth photograph in early 1861, a reproduction of a pen and ink portrait of Sir John Franklin by Joseph Mathias Negelen (1792–1870). A possible further stereo, referred to as 'No. 16' and held by the Scott Polar

Research Institute, Cambridge, is a view of the maquette for the statue of Franklin by Charles Bacon (1821–1886).²¹ The statue, paid for by public subscription and costing £700, was inaugurated in Spilsby, Franklin's hometown, in November 1861. We do not know where and when it was photographed, or whether Cheyne was the photographer. At least one of Cheyne's photographs was reproduced using more traditional reprographic processes. In 1860, the *London Illustrated News* issued a full-length portrait supplement of McClintock in naval uniform, stipple engraved by Daniel John Pound (1820–1894), after a photograph credited to Cheyne.²²

THE PRODUCTION OF THE STEREOSCOPIC SLIDES

The production chronology of the sets of stereoscopic views may never be established. It is likely that Cheyne produced them to order, rather than in large batches. When coupled with the use of a subscription model, this limited his financial exposure. The individual sets of albumen prints used for Cheyne's stereos were cut to various shapes, indicating the 'hand-made' process by which the stereo slides were assembled. In some instances, the background on the glass plate negative has been scraped away, leaving a clear glass area that is printed as black.²³ Cheyne's set lacked the caption, a standardization of contemporary commercially available stereos, further underlining the amateur 'hand-made' production process.

ADVERTISING & MARKETING

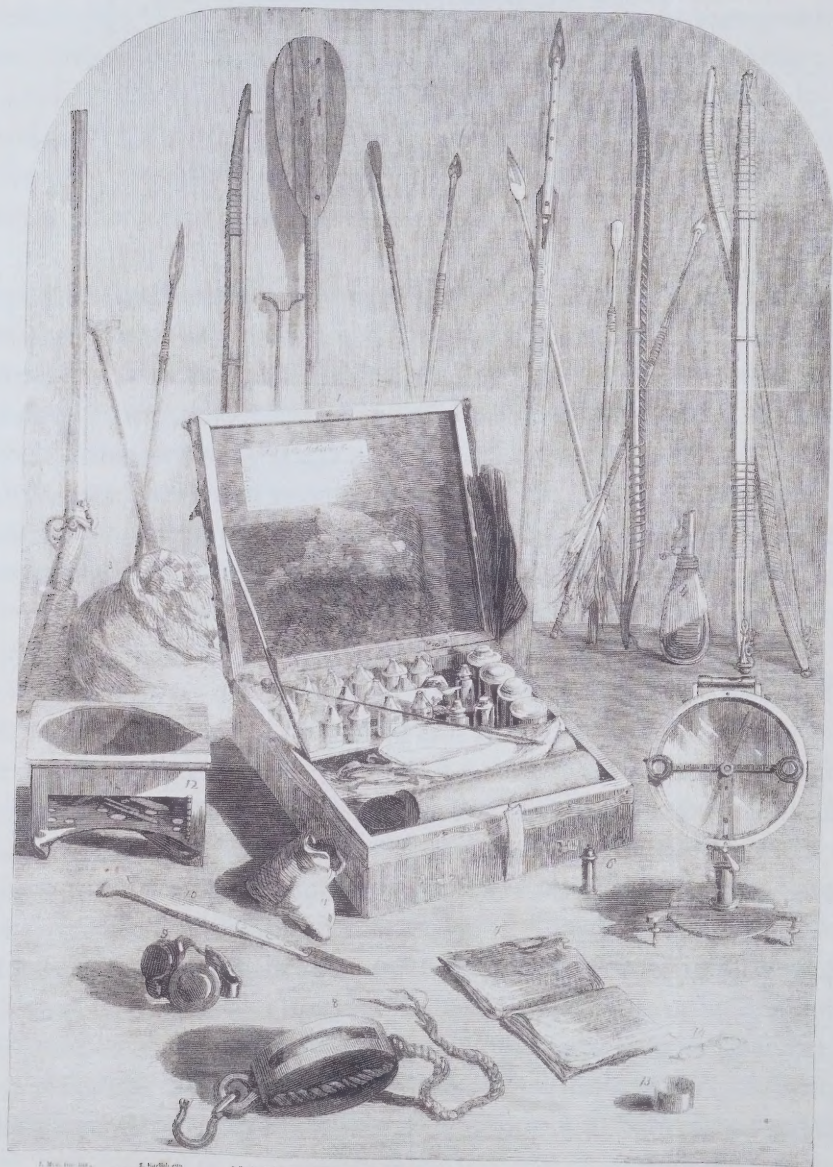
By early April 1860, Cheyne was advertising the 'Stereoscopic Photographs' in *The Times*, 'order, with remittances' to be sent to his home address at '42 Duncan Terrance, Islington, N.'²⁴ He also placed a sizeable advertisement in the 15 May 1860 issue of *The Photographic Journal*²⁵ which refers to earlier advertisements in *The Photographic Journal*, *Army and Navy Gazette*, and *United Service Gazette*. This suggests that Cheyne's photographs were available by April or early May 1860. Other reviews appeared in the *Bath Express* and *The Illustrated News of the World*, both quoted from in the January 1861 printed flyer that listed the subscribers, and in *The Art-Journal*.

NOW READY,
Fourteen Stereoscopic Slides
 OF THE RELICS OF
SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S EXPEDITION,
WITH Descriptive Catalogue, Photographed
 by Lieut. Cheyne, R.N., at the United
 Service Museum, Whitehall, by permission of the
 Council of that Institution.
PRICE ONE GUINEA.
 Sold by Robert Were, Bookseller, Tiverton.

Only one advertisement for Cheyne's stereos has been found in the provincial newspapers, appearing in several issues of the *Tiverton Gazette and East Devon Herald*, such as the issue for Tuesday 3 July 1860. This advertisement had been placed by Robert Were (1836–1863), a bookseller and the proprietor/first editor of the newspaper. Quite what the connection was between Were and Cheyne, if any, has yet to be established. However, Cheyne appears to have primarily handled the production, marketing, and sales by himself, and this is at the heart of why so few copies were produced and even fewer have been located.

CONTEMPORARY RECEPTION

The significance of the stereos was best exemplified by the review that appeared in *The Photographic News* (August 1860): 'The National and historical interest attaching to these stereographs is so great we are not surprised to learn that the labours of the artist are appreciated in the highest quarters. Her Majesty and the Prince Consort have both graciously acknowledged their appreciation of this most interesting box of stereographs'.²⁶ *The Art-Journal* considered that 'The art has given us no scenes so remarkable or so interesting; sorrowful, but instructive; they are monuments to the memory of true heroes. Our thanks are due to Lieut. Cheyne, for a welcome, though a painful, gift'.²⁷ In addition, the *Bath Express* suggested that a stereoscope 'cannot be devoted to a more worthy use than surveying these simple yet



1. Knife, for use. 2. Knife, for use. 3. Knife, for use. 4. Knife, for use. 5. Knife, for use. 6. Knife, for use. 7. Knife, for use. 8. Knife, for use. 9. Knife, for use. 10. Knife, for use. 11. Knife, for use. 12. Knife, for use. 13. Knife, for use.

REMARKS OF THE FRANKLIN EXPEDITION—SEE NEXT PAGE.

affecting sketches',²⁸ and *The Illustrated News of the World* stated the stereo views 'ought to have a place on every drawing room table in the kingdom'.²⁹ When an unauthorized catalogue of the Franklin Relics was published in 1860,³⁰ Lady Franklin considered it to be 'vulgar'. She watched with increasing concern as photography moved popular culture to commodify the relics, and noted in her journal in early January 1860, before she gave Cheyne permission to publish his stereos, that she wanted to restrict photographic access to McClintock's relics.³¹

While Cheyne's stereoscopic photographs are significant in that they represent the first photographs taken of the Franklin Relics, their contemporary impact and legacy was limited. Given that Cheyne listed one hundred subscribers, it is curious that so few sets have been located. Cheyne began to add individual images to the set of his stereoscopic photographic publication, though he seems not to have persisted with his photographic exploits. He did not exhibit his photographic prints or continue to advertise them. Cheyne retired from the Royal Navy in 1870, and by the mid-1870s, was giving lectures on the *Voyage to the North Pole* at venues across Britain, the USA, and Canada. These were illustrated by lantern slides, though, significantly, they do not appear to have included his photographs of the Franklin Relics. Late in 1876, after the disappointing return of the British Arctic expedition under George Strong Nares (1831–1915), Cheyne announced his grand plans to reach the North Pole by balloon and commenced a lecture tour entitled 'The Search for Sir John Franklin', illustrated with lantern slides, to help fund the venture. Contemporaries considered him an itinerant showman, a charlatan, and lunatic.³²

1 "List of Relics of the Franklin Expedition brought to England in the *Fox* by Captain M'Clintock, Appendix III," in *A Narrative of the Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions* (London: John Murray, 1859), 366.

2 See letter from James Fitzjames to William Coningham [Brother], 16 May 1845 Erebus, Greenhithe: 'She [Lady Franklin] has taken it into her head to have a portrait of all our officers, & sent a man down who takes us all with the Daguerreotype—I have got a second for Elizabeth to who I shall send it when set. I believe it is very like me though I fear Lady Franklin will have the best—he come aboard tomorrow & I shall try & get 2 more one for Fitzgerald & one for Mrs Campbell & you shall have the best of the three.' Letter in the collection of the National Maritime Museum (London, MRF/89) as cited in *May We Be Spared to Meet on Earth. Letters of the Lost Franklin Arctic Expedition*, ed. Russell A. Potter, Regina Koellner, Peter Carney, and Mary Williamson (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022): 117.

3 See the daguerreotype plate-polishing apparatus, patented by John Johnson in 1841, that was retrieved from the wreck of HMS *Erebus*. Russell Potter, 'A Visit with Parks Canada (Part 3 of 3),' *Visions of the North: The Terrors of the Frozen Zone, Past and Present*, May 16, 2023, <https://visionsnorth.blogspot.com/2023/04/a-visit-with-parks-canada-part-3-of-3.html>.

4 "Fate of the Franklin Expedition," *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, September 15, 1859, 7.

5 See, for instance, Adriana Craciun, "The Franklin Relics in the Arctic Archive," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 42, no. 1 (2014): 1–31. See also Garth Walpole, *Relics of the Franklin Expedition/ Discovering Artifacts from the Doomed Arctic Voyage of 1845* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company Inc., 2017): 168.

6 See the motion pictures in Logan Zachary, "Cheyne's Motion Pictures," *Illuminator Dot Blog*, September 8, 2020, <https://www.illuminator.blog/p/cheynes-motion-pictures.html>.

7 In the collection of Brian W. Walker, Belfast. See P. Froggatt and Brian W. Walker, "From Precocious Fame to Mature Obscurity: David Walker (1837–1917) MD, LRSCI, Surgeon and Naturalist to the *Fox* Arctic Expedition of 1857–59," *Journal of Medical Biography* 20, no. 4 (2012): 148–54.

8 These included views on the deck of the *Fox* and topographic views, such as 'The "*Fox*" in winter quarters at Port Kennedy. Bellot St. April 1859' (A123–013 Le Vesconte collection, The Rooms, St. John's, Newfoundland). See also a stereo view held in the National Maritime Museum with manuscript caption on verso 'Exquimaux hut Godhavn. 1859' (London, MCL/24).

9 [Introductory matter], *The Photographic Journal* 96 (April 1860): 192.

10 "The Franklin Relics," *The Army and Navy Gazette*, May 5, 1860, 301.

11 The full list is available on the Storymaps site associated with this exhibition: <https://arcgis.com/storymaps?appid=61988888888888888888888888888888&url=https%3A%2F%2Farcgis.com%2Fstorymaps%2Fstory%2F1859-fox-exploration>. Cheyne included a flyer listing subscribers in the sets of stereograms. The author consulted the version in the National Maritime Museum Greenwich: John Cheyne, *A Series of Stereoscopic Views of the Franklin Relics, Brought Home in the Fox by Captain McClintock*, September 1859, <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-533199>.

12 A stereoscopic photographic view of the monument as taken and sold by Frederick York & Son.

13 See Anthony Hamber, *Photography and the 1851 Great Exhibition* (Newcastle, Delaware and London: Oak Knoll Press, 2018).

14 See Zachary, "Cheyne's Motion Pictures."

- 15 For an illustration of a single lens stereo camera see the example manufactured by Murray and Heath of London, given by the Welsh early photographic pioneer John Dillwyn Llewelyn (1810–1882) to his daughter Thereza as a birthday present. “Single Lens Stereo Camera,” Amgueddfa Cymru—Museum Wales, accessed June 15, 2024, <https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/016cd2d8-26c6-3d72-a157-a55f44c41e31/Single-lens-stereo-camera/%20Item%20number%2086.31/627/>.
- 16 Minutes of the Council of the United Service Institution, January 2, 1860. Archive of the Royal United Services Institute, London.
- 17 Jane Franklin, “Letter from Lady Franklin to Lieut. Cheyne, R.N.” in *Descriptive Catalogue of Fourteen Stereoscopic Slides of the Relics of Sir John Franklin's Expedition* (London: Lieut. Cheyne, 1860), 3.
- 18 “Additions to the Library and Museum during 1860,” *Royal United Services Institution Journal* 4, supplement 1 (January 1860): xxv.
- 19 Minutes of the Council of the United Service Institution, November 5, 1860.
- 20 I thank Logan Zachary for confirming this and other points. Email correspondence, 2 and 3 August 2024.
- 21 “The Late Sir John Franklin,” *Jersey Independent and Daily Telegraph*, September 19, 1860, 2.
- 22 This illustration formed part of a serial entitled *The Drawing-room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages*. Pound had already made numerous engravings after portrait photographs by John Jabez Edwin Mayall (1813–1901).
- 23 For an extensive discussion of this and other photographic printing techniques, see Hamber, *Photography and the 1851 Great Exhibition*.
- 24 “Stereographic Photographs,” *The Times*, April 9, 1860, 3.
- 25 “Relics of Sir John Franklin's Expedition,” *The Photographic Journal* 6, no. 97 (May 15, 1860): advertising supplement, [13], <https://archive.rps.org/archive/volume-6/724200>.
- 26 “Critical Notices,” *The Photographic News*, 4, no. 100 (August 1860): 165–6. The sets apparently presented to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert have yet to be located within the Royal Collections.
- 27 “Minor Topics of the Month,” *The Art-Journal*, August 1, 1860, 254.
- 28 Cheyne, *A Series of Stereoscopic Views*.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 *Catalogue of the Franklin Relics, in the Museum of the United Service Institution, Whitehall*, (London: Kelly & Co., 1859).
- 31 Journal of Jane Franklin, entry for 2 January 1860 (Scott Polar Research Institute MS 248/119–20 f3).
- 32 Huw Lewis-Jones, “‘Ballooney’: Commander Cheyne's Flight of Fancy,” *Polar Record* 44, no. 4 (October 2008): 289–302.

‘Exactly Truthful’: Three Lithographic Narratives of the Franklin Search Expeditions to the Arctic (1850–1855)

EAVAN O'DOCHARTAIGH

The loss of the infamous Franklin expedition to the pursuit of the Northwest Passage was a defining moment in the British exploration of the Arctic. The expedition, which left England in 1845, saw the loss of two ships and the entire ships' companies, and inspired numerous search, rescue, and supply expeditions in the succeeding decade as well as having continuing reverberations today as material is recovered from the recently discovered wrecks of HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror*. In the absence of professional artists aboard naval voyages at this time, officers in the Arctic made pencil, pen and ink, and watercolour sketches—and a few early photographs—that later became panoramas, prints, and paintings back in the metropole, each giving its own version of the Arctic to a public hungry for information, knowledge, news, and drama.

In particular, the use of lithography (a printing technique using a flat stone surface) provided what was considered the most reliable visual record of what expedition members saw in the Arctic. The medium's ability to show granulated textured surfaces made it a popular choice to illustrate natural history subjects and it was directly linked to eyewitness accounts, accuracy, and 'truth'. The lithographs of these expeditions were closely associated

with the naval officers, from whose sketches the prints were said to derive. This fact, combined with their high price, meant that lithographs were 'relied upon as exactly truthful.'¹ The folios of prints that were produced from officers' drawings were highly targeted to an educated and affluent audience. Although lithographers may have expected smaller numbers of people to purchase them for the 'drawing-room table',² the display of lithographs in print sellers' windows and in exhibitions meant that they were available to view even to those who were unable to buy them.³ This wider casual audience is important to keep in mind when considering the impact and message of the lithographs that were produced from the Franklin searches between 1850 and 1855.

WILLIAM HENRY BROWNE (1821-1871): *TEN COLOURED VIEWS* (1850)

In 1848, Lieutenant William Henry James Browne from Dublin, Ireland set off on his first Arctic expedition on the *Enterprise*, led by James Clark Ross. No stranger to voyaging the seas, Browne had served on survey missions in the Pacific and his early topographical drawings show a delicacy of line and colour, great attention to detail, and carefully painted lettering. No personal journal of Browne's has come to light yet, but the set of lithographs as well as his paintings and sketches (mainly held at the Scott Polar Research Institute) display an eye for geology and a romantic sensibility. The folio *Ten Coloured Views* consists of ten chromolithographs with an accompanying text in both French and English, clearly targeting a scientific audience (the former was the international language of science in the nineteenth century). The prints are characterised by geological interest, especially given the expedition's winter location near the dramatic heights of Kuuganajuup Nunanga (Somerset Island), Nunavut. Indeed, seven of the ten lithographs show locations around the northeast coast of Kuuganajuup Nunanga and just three depict the coast of Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) during summer. The majority of lithographs thus show wintery snow-covered scenes, the expected content for media portraying the Arctic, while one lithograph, 'Fiord near Uppernvaik' [sic], includes Kalaallit Inuit of western Kalaallit Nunaat kayaking in the distance on calm open water.



The final lithograph in the folio, 'Noon in Mid-Winter', is one of the four larger prints. The list of plates at the beginning of the folio adds the subtitle: 'H.M. Ships "*Enterprise*" and "*Investigator*" in Winter Quarters, Port Leopold, North Somerset—Noon in December'. The two ships rest, almost peacefully, in the ice, and three human figures stand isolated and immobile near the most prominent ship, which is delicately bedecked with ice and snow, adding an air of novelty to the scene. The Arctic here is cold but calm and not particularly threatening. The sky is star-studded and clear. Despite the high latitude (approximately 74°N) and the winter solstice, the sun's light emanates from below the horizon, as nautical twilight adds a faint pink glow to the scene. The scene shows none of the activities you might expect to find near the ships in winter, including groups of men exercising or working.

'Noon in Mid-Winter (Point Leopold)' by William Henry Browne, in *Ten Coloured Views Taken During the Arctic Expedition of Her Majesty's Ships 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator' Under the Command of Sir James Clark Ross* (1850). Lithography by Charles Haghe.

Since very few sketches are extant that can be seen as prototypes for *Ten Coloured Views*, it is difficult to say how much influence the lithographer, the publisher, or the Admiralty had over this production. However, an earlier version of 'Noon in Mid-Winter' appeared in the *Illustrated London News* not long after the return of the expedition to England. The engraving, 'The Expedition Housed in for the Winter',⁴ was unattributed but said to be from a sketch that the newspaper had obtained direct from the expedition.⁵ Unlike the lithograph, this engraving shows a starkly peopleless environment. A third version of the *Enterprise* and *Investigator* in winter quarters was witnessed by thousands of people who came to see the hugely popular panorama 'Summer and Winter Views of the Polar Regions' that opened in London in February 1850.⁶ This scene, also based on sketches by Browne, showed yet another reinterpretation of the Arctic, an icescape busy with activity under the glow of the aurora borealis.

SAMUEL GURNEY CRESSWELL (1827-1867): A SERIES OF EIGHT SKETCHES (1854)

Another remarkable set of lithographs from the Franklin searches was based on the work of Samuel Gurney Cresswell, who served on the voyage of the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, which departed England in 1850. Cresswell himself was on the *Investigator*, which became separated from its sister ship. This was the expedition that saw the 'completion' of the Northwest Passage by Robert McClure (and others), albeit by foot. The fourth plate in the set, 'Critical Position of H.M.S. *Investigator* on the North-Coast of Baring Island. August 20th 1851', is one of the most popular images used to illustrate texts on Arctic exploration, with its tiny figures that contrast sharply with the immense pack ice that threatens the ship. The lithographs appear quite different from Cresswell's many paintings and drawings that can be found in an album at Norfolk Record Office, United Kingdom.⁷ The accompanying text was taken from Captain McClure's *Despatches* and the folio was prepared and published whilst Cresswell himself was serving in the Baltic during the Crimean War.⁸ At least one reviewer hinted at 'inaccuracy', elaborating

that the lithographs displayed a 'want of delicacy in detail, which is peculiarly felt in snow scenes'.⁹ The comment makes sense in light of the sketches and paintings by Cresswell available to us that show that the lithographers, William Simpson and Edmund Walker, may have felt the need to use additional visual sources, including possibly their own imagination, to fill in the gaps.

According to the reviewer in *The Art-Journal*, 'HMS *Investigator* in the Pack, October 8, 1850' was a 'moonlit scene rendered with great power.'¹⁰ This impression was more due to the work of the lithographer Edmund Walker than to Cresswell's original sketches, one of which may be the prototype for this print. Although the warm glow that emanates from the ship appears human and comforting in the icy environment, the angle of the vessel reminds the viewer that it cannot be relied upon as a safe haven. The ghostly atmosphere of the plate is emphasized by the treacherous appearance of the ice, the absence of any human life, either on the ship or the ice, and the moon that reveals itself from behind the clouds. No human figures attempt to navigate the ice pack and the ship appears vulnerable and small amidst the vastness of the Arctic. In the earlier sketch that Cresswell created called 'Position of HMS *Investigator* after Heavy Pressure 1852', the composition is reminiscent of the lithograph, but here, several human figures are able to stand on the ice and the ship is larger, together making the surrounding environment seem less hostile. As a whole, the lithographs of *A Series of Eight Sketches* emphasise action, danger, and discovery.

WILLIAM WALTER MAY (1831–1896): A SERIES OF FOURTEEN SKETCHES (1855)

The final set of lithographs to arise from the Franklin searches was the largest. The prints derive from the work of Walter William May, an officer who was particularly interested in the visual and who painted theatre sets, illustrated the ship's magazine, and even attempted to create a magic lantern show while on the large Belcher expedition that spent two years in the Arctic (1852–1854). He would later go on to leave the British navy and become a professional maritime painter. A number of paintings and sketches,



particularly at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, can be seen as prototypes for the lithographs. Text written by May, explaining each image, accompanies the lithographs. Several of the prints focus on the labour and difficulty of man-hauled sledge travel, and a final plate, 'deeply interesting to many' is included to show salvaged artefacts from the Franklin expedition.¹¹

The lithograph shown here, 'The Artic [sic] Squadron in Leely [sic] Harbour, Island of Disco, Coast of Greenland', is unusual in folios that focused more explicitly on the search for Franklin, but its depiction here as the first lithograph is fitting. Qeqertarsuaq (known in Danish as 'Godhavn' and often called 'Lievely' by the British after Dutch whalers) was a favoured stopping point for British expeditions to the Northwest Passage when approaching from the Atlantic. The harbour was renowned for its sheltered waters and

¹¹'Critical Position of H.M.S. *Investigator* on the North-Coast of Baring Island, August 20th 1851' by Samuel Gurney Cresswell, in *A Series of Eight Sketches in Colour (Together with a Chart of the Route): by Lieut. S. Gurney Cresswell, of the Voyage of H.M.S. Investigator (Captain M'Clure), During the Discovery of the North-West Passage (1854)*. Lithography by William Simpson.



the presence of a benevolent Danish Royal Inspector, Christian Olrik, who was particularly helpful to the expeditions. For ships bound for the Northwest Passage it was a chance to purchase dogs, extra supplies, and even to socialize. On this occasion, a series of dances was held on the deck of the *Resolute* and on the shore. However, the print shows a far more serious and scientific view of Qeqertarsuaq that fits with the expected audience for the lithographs. The scene is topographical in nature; the geological formations around the harbour are of interest and the elevated viewpoint is on land. The squadron of five ships rests in a tranquil bay surrounded by imposing mountains. Notable in the picture is the presence of Kalaallit women and children in the foreground of the lithograph. Their presence marks this representation as one of the more unusual ones in the period of the Franklin searches because it includes Indigenous people. However, the eye is more drawn to the beautifully delineated mountains and topography around the

'The Artic [sic] Squadron in Leevely [sic] Harbour, Island of Disco, Coast of Greenland', in William Walter May, *A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made During the Voyage Up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin and the Missing Crews of H.M. Discovery-Ships Erebus and Terror* (1855). Lithography by J. Needham.

harbour of Qeqertarsuaq. The lithograph's monochrome appearance makes the absence or presence of snow less obvious and negates the possibility of showing the flora that was often commented upon in narratives of Arctic exploration. For example, whilst strolling around Qeqertarsuaq, American Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane declared: 'the Arctic turf is unequalled: nothing in the tropics approaches it for specific variety'.¹² This print of Qeqertarsuaq in summer, and its inclusion of women and children, is unusual in the context of the representation of the Franklin search and the general association of the nineteenth-century Arctic with darkness, ice, and difficulty.

The lithograph folios from the Franklin searches were specific narratives that were likely influenced by several factors and were not just '*fac similie*' copies of the drawings of officers. Publishers, lithographic artists, the Admiralty, and on occasion the officer himself, may all have been involved in creating a new product. The prints were thought to add to knowledge of the Arctic at a time when the region was still full of blank spaces to western eyes, if not to the Indigenous peoples who lived there. They cannot be read as factual images, but whether science, danger, or difficulty were on display, the images tell us more about how Arctic exploration was represented in the media, and the roots of the fascination with the remote, the distant, and the difficult, for those of us who live in metropolitan environments.

1 "Art: *Ten Coloured Views, Taken During the Arctic Expedition in H.M.S 'Enterprise,' and 'Investigator,'*" *The Critic* 9, no. 214 (March 1, 1850): 127.

2 Ibid.

3 "The Art of Lithography," *Morning Chronicle*, January 18, 1855, 2. I discuss the lithographic folios in detail in the fourth chapter of my book *Visual Culture and Arctic Voyages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 143–74.

4 "Sir James Ross' Arctic Expedition," *Illustrated London News*, 15, no. 399 (November 17, 1849): 324.

5 Ibid., 323.

6 The panorama was a huge circular painting. Robert Burford, "Description of Summer and Winter Views of the Polar Regions as Seen during the Expedition of Capt. James Clark Ross" (London, 1850).

7 Samuel Gurney Cresswell, Album containing 59 mounted drawings, Personal and Family Papers of Wilhelmine, Lady Harrod, Norfolk Record Office, file WMH 3/1/D4/1.

8 Robert McClure, *The North-West Passage. Capt. M'Clure's Despatches from Her Majesty's Discovery Ship, "Investigator," Off Point Warren and Cape Bathurst* (London: John Betts, 1853).

9 "Fine Arts: Eight Coloured Sketches, and a Chart by Lieut. S. Gurney Cresswell, of H.M.S. *Investigator*," *The Athenaeum* no. 1403, (September 16, 1854): 1117.

10 "A Series of Eight Coloured Sketches in Colour, by Lieut. S. Gurney Cresswell, of the Voyage of H.M.S. *Investigator*," *The Art-Journal*, September 1, 1854, 284.

11 Walter William May, *A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made during the Voyage Up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin and the Missing Crews of H.M. Discovery-Ships Erebus and Terror* (London: Day and Son, 1855), 6.

12 Elisha Kent Kane, *The U.S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin. A Personal Narrative* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853), 46–47.



'Division of Sledges Finding and Cutting a Road Through Heavy Hummocks, in the Queen's Channel', in William Walter May, *A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made During the Voyage Up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin and the Missing Crews of H.M. Discovery-Ships Erebus and Terror* (1855).

Nature, the Monstrous Body, and Death in Nineteenth-Century Arctic Horror Stories

NYSSA KOMOROWSKI

THE BACKBONE OF ARCTIC HORROR

The nineteenth-century Arctic could be a place of horror for those visitors who were not adapted to its environment of cold, snow, and bare rock, its cycles of light and dark, or its vegetation and animal life. Voyagers from the south experienced animal predation, starvation, freezing temperatures, isolation, and often enough, untimely death. The gruesome and terrifying dimensions of Arctic images and stories were highly popular and published in travelogues, illustrated newspapers, and fictional novels, creating an intriguing yet distant spectacle that could be pleasurably read in the safety of the metropole. A distinction between human and nature formed the backbone of Arctic horror, which was fleshed out by the burgeoning practices of science and a growing aesthetic predilection for the sublime and the uncanny.

One piece of literature made an especially strong impression on how British explorers and readers related to the Arctic throughout the nineteenth century: *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus* (1818), a pioneering science fiction novel set in the Arctic and written by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851). There has been considerable commentary on the Arctic frame that the novel unfolds within, from the year it was first published until today. An early review of the novel from 1818, written by first secretary to the Admiralty John Wilson Croker (1780–1857), bemoaned that the novel

was written before his colleague John Barrow (1764–1848) had published his theoretical description of the North Pole's characteristics, which Croker regarded as more accurate than Shelley's fictional description.¹ Yet, the novel picked up on and circulated prominent themes in the British Arctic imaginary that would persist throughout the nineteenth century. For instance, echoes of *Frankenstein* can be found shrouding the history and mystery of the lost Franklin Expedition, the famously failed Arctic voyage launched from England in 1845. The lost expedition became a ghost ship (or two) to be feared yet pursued in British consciousness, spurring further Arctic missions and becoming a literary metaphor to horrifying effect. Edward Bulwer-Lytton's 'The Haunted and the Haunters; or, The House and the Brain' (1859), for example, while under the effect of mesmerism, the narrator describes a premonition: 'I see a ship—it is haunted—'tis chased—it sails on. Baffled navies sail after that ship. It enters the region of ice. ... I see the ship locked between white defiles ... I see the dead strewn on the decks—stark and livid, green mould on their limbs. All are dead but one man—it is you!'² Throughout British commentary about the Arctic in the nineteenth century, three themes were prominent: strange weather and wild beasts, the inner monstrous side of humanity, and relics of ill fate.

STRANGE WEATHER AND WILD BEASTS

American historian Chauncey Loomis explains what the Franklin Expedition meant to the British public in their relationship to the natural world; his description is also a fitting reflection on the motivations of the fictional Dr. Frankenstein as he works away in his laboratory: 'The Franklin Expedition was not simply carrying the Union Jack into the Arctic; it was carrying Western man's faith in his power to prevail on earth. ... to demonstrate his capacity to conquer Nature at its most mysterious and intimidating.'³ What is capital-N 'Nature'? Timothy Morton describes it as an anthropocentric attitude towards what is thought to be non-human, or the natural world, in relation to what is thought to be human; 'Nature' is what the age of sensibility valued in opposition to human society, or civilization.⁴ Romantic authors



THE EXPEDITION IN SEARCH OF SIR J. FRANKLIN.—ARCTIC BEAR ON BOARD THE "FOX."

Corpse of a polar bear on board the *Fox* during Francis Leopold McClintock's search for John Franklin in 1857-1859, as depicted in the *Illustrated London News*, 29 October 1859.

such as Shelley 'strove to confuse and undermine the difference between Nature and the human.'⁵ When Shelley 'writes about something *monstrous*: something that is not only 'natural' in the sense that it is non-human, but also 'unnatural' in the sense that it defies expectations about what nature is', she 'tests these categories to breaking point so that they start to speak their paradoxes and absurdities, absurdities that themselves might seem monstrous'.⁶ Shelley's choice of the Arctic as a primary framing device for her narrative was not just an arbitrary appeal to a popular culture that enjoyed the Arctic.⁷ For the British, the Arctic came to represent a struggle to maintain the dominion they were accustomed to having over nature. As Bulwer-Lytton so aptly yet simply suggested in his story, 'And nature no longer obeys you in that death-spreading region'.⁸ Locked in the ice, mostly shipbound, and unable to cultivate familiar life-sustaining resources such as fresh food, the strange weather and wild beasts that enclosed Arctic voyagers could either signify loss of control or idealistically proclaim British victory over nature's challenges.

In a victorious example found in the *Illustrated London News* (29 October 1859), a polar bear is pictured as a corpse dead on the deck of the *Fox*, Francis Leopold McClintock's ship in his search for Franklin in 1857–1859. This illustration is part of a series of articles that accompanied news of Franklin's expedition found by the *Fox* in 1859.⁹ Three men stand over the bear's body: the animal has been overcome by the British and taken as a souvenir of the voyagers' triumph. Symbolizing the environment's most vicious and alien aspects, the polar bear is an aspect of Nature repeated in many Arctic illustrations. This beast defies the British sense of dominion over Nature by pursuing, attacking, and consuming voyagers who have become icebound; it perverts order in nature by making man the prey. In Jules Verne's story *The Field of Ice; or, The Adventures of Captain Hatteras* (1870), voyagers are pursued across the icy landscape by these 'terrible monsters' that are 'close on their heels'.¹⁰ Accompanying illustrations include a one-on-one fight with a polar bear in which the sailor dramatically 'plunged the knife into the animal's throat'.¹¹ These encounters with Arctic



HUMMOCK OF ICE RESEMBLING A BEAR.

London. Pub. by G. & W. B. Whitaker, Ave. Maria Lane.

animals do not just test man's urge for survival, but also the archetypal, hierarchical position men strive to hold over nature.

Like these polar bears and other fearsome beasts, drawings of Arctic landscapes and weather conditions that voyagers found strange, otherworldly, or insurmountable could sometimes be more ideological than factual. For instance, in George William Manby's *Journal of a Voyage to Greenland, in the Year 1821* (1822), an illustration of 'Hummock of Ice Resembling a Bear' strains credulity and therefore enters the symbolic realm. Increasing this impression is another illustration, 'Remarkable Piece of Ice Resting on Columns', in which the image of a Roman marble column, a potent symbol of European civilization, is obviously interpolated into the drawing rather than recorded as observed. In these ways, the realms

of imaginary and actual travel meld together, and pictures of strange weather and wild beasts are transformed into ideological themes, which either express terror about loss of control, or put order to nature by asserting control over the pictorial space.

INNER MONSTROUS SIDE OF HUMANITY

In Arctic fiction the monstrous inner qualities of humankind find expression, to the horror and fascination of the reader. Shelley probes the grisly side of human nature in *Frankenstein* by experimenting with death and the monstrous body. Her Arctic setting was in part inspired by 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' (1798) by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, wherein 'the mariner is a human interloper in "the land of ice, and of fearful sounds, where no living thing was to be seen" ... Even the albatross ... seems to be an interloper in that ghastly world'.¹² Because it is so alien to the British, the Arctic, then, is the ideal situation to stage a reader's first encounter with Dr. Victor Frankenstein: he is an interloper into this northern realm of God and Nature as he pursues his Monster, a perverted third Adam, to his own self-destruction.

After initially abandoning his Monster, Frankenstein re-encounters him on a glacier in the Alps, in the sublime mountains 'whose white and shining pyramids and domes towered above all, as belonging to another earth, the habitations of another race of beings'.¹³ Like Prometheus, Frankenstein 'sat upon the rock that overlooks the sea of ice ... [and] remained in a recess of the rock, gazing on this wonderful and stupendous scene'.¹⁴ Soon, he recognizes the Monster advancing towards him across the field of ice. This is the scene illustrated on the cover of the Sixpenny Novels edition (1882) of *Frankenstein*. The Sixpenny Monster is enormous and towers over Frankenstein while standing on the glacial ice clenching an angry fist. He is printed with shading and colouring that blend into the Montanvert Glacier beneath his feet and Mont Blanc that rises behind him, suggesting he is among those 'race of beings' 'belonging to another earth'. The mountains that surround the pair signal a Victorian metaphor for man's progression from 'barbarianism' to 'civilization'; so too, 'the metaphor of a mountain slope

PRICE SIXPENCE

FRANKENSTEIN

BY MRS. SHELLEY.



159

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS

has built into it the possibility of regression—the awful slide downwards and backwards.’¹⁵ Frankenstein’s creation stands out starkly against the faint blue landscape of ice, anchored to his bare Promethean rock. The Monster’s hair and clothing are whipped into a wild rage by the wind, while the clothing of Dr. Frankenstein, in the preening manner of humans, is tidy and perfectly coiffured, with only one dramatic corner of his jacket pulled at by the wind. These aesthetic dissimilarities clearly announce both the Monster’s difference from humanity and the communion he feels with the natural world.

The inner character of the Monster is not frightful from the first moments of his life. Although he performs terrible acts of murder, he is a highly intelligent creature whose sympathies with the natural world encourage him to choose a vegetarian diet and embolden a desire ‘to dwell in those wilds where the beasts of the field will be [his] only companions’.¹⁶ By the volatile reactions of humans to his ghastly physical deformities, the Monster’s inner character is gradually transmuted. The Monster is born innocent but soon experiences ‘the awful slide downwards’ that regresses his innately good human nature, acquired from the cottagers he secretly lived among and observed, and deforms his character to monstrosity. It is clear from his confrontation with Frankenstein, when he proposes to live among the beasts of South America, that he has developed a disidentification with humans. Just as a human would not think it is murder to butcher a beast for food, the Monster accuses Frankenstein of regarding him as an animal, that he ‘would not call it murder, if you could precipitate me into one of those ice-rifts, and destroy my frame, the work of your own hands’.¹⁷

There were other literary accounts of Arctic voyages that reproduced the same tropes, and many were illustrated. While exploring the Arctic in Wilkie Collins’s narrative version of *The Frozen Deep*, a play first published in 1874, the character Richard Wardour, like Frankenstein’s Monster, becomes obsessed with ‘deadly thought[s]’ of vengeance and murder.¹⁸ These feelings are in reaction to a crewmate whom he blames for a romantic rejection. When he is spurned by the young Clara Burnham before the voyage, Wardour says to her, ‘the man who has robbed me of you, shall rue the day when you

and he first met'.¹⁹ Later, while on his Arctic voyage, he learns that fellow sailor Frank Aldersley is the man who 'robbed him' of Clara.²⁰ Wardour then enters a maddened state that is deepened by the Arctic environment: 'the merciless cold, striking its victims in various ways, had struck in some instances at their reason first'.²¹ The frontispiece of the 1875 edition of the narrative version of the play illustrates Wardour standing over the supine body of Aldersley, in a scene in which the two men have fallen behind on the expedition and Aldersley has fallen ill. Wardour agonizes over the decision to leave his rival behind to die, wishing to be rid of him so he might have Clara as his own. However, he is bothered by his conscience. This tense moment of indecision is a key moment in the story, and the fact that Wardour inevitably does *not* murder his companion is a stark contrast to the news of the Franklin mission brought back to England in 1854, with its rumours of cannibalism.

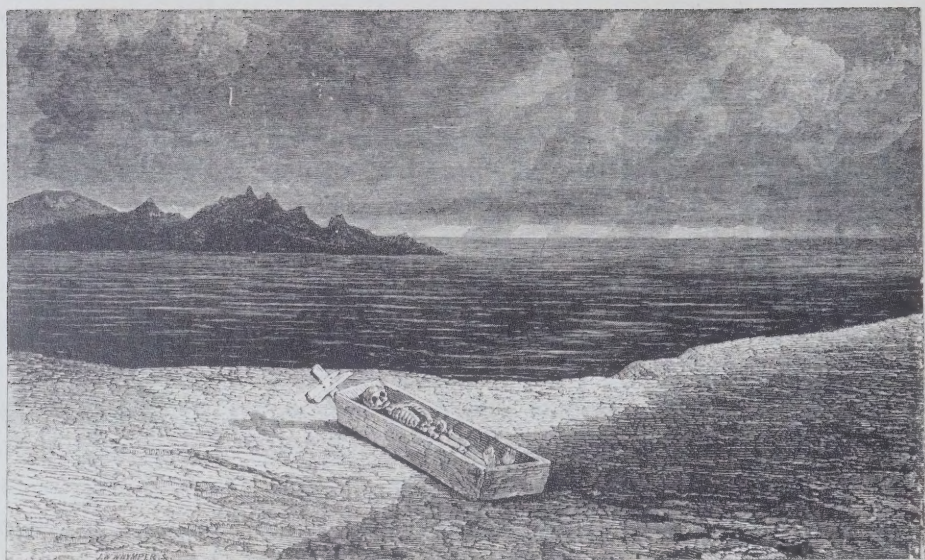
This outcome in *The Frozen Deep* might owe something to Charles Dickens's involvement with its production as a play, and his role as the 1857 script's principal author and lead actor.²² Dickens was famously interested in cannibalism, so much so that he reflected in an 1853 story about voyaging that it was a wonder he had never been round the world, nor met any number of terrible fates including 'eaten'.²³ This quip was an eerie preview of the Franklin expedition's outcome, although Dickens later vehemently 'repudiated [John] Rae's evidence' that the crew had dined on one another.²⁴ Franklin's expedition officially went missing in 1848, but it was not until 1854 that credible news of his fate was collected from Inuit sources by the Scottish explorer and physician John Rae. From these reports Rae gathered 'that the last survivors of the expedition had taken 'the last resource—cannibalism—as a means of prolonging life'.²⁵ This news scandalized England, Europe, and the Nordic countries but also exemplified a morbid fascination with the Arctic. For instance, in Verne's *The Field of Ice*, the grisly experience of stumbling upon a cache of corpses is amplified by the mutiny and cannibalism the men committed before they died. The murder and consumption of those who are not just fellow humans but also one's familiar friends is an

extreme example of the ways becoming ice-bound might reveal the inner monstrous side of humanity. Like Frankenstein's Monster, who felt excluded from 'chain of existence and events', cannibalism in the British Navy would surely cut those voyagers most painfully out of their own hierarchy of existence.²⁶

RELICS OF ILL FATE

The relics of ill-fated adventurers—objects that survived the dead—were pictured in Arctic stories, causing the reader to imagine viscerally the difficult physicality of the Arctic experience from afar. They are uncanny objects of Arctic horror, full of experiences recorded in the wear and tear of each item, signifying both the absence and presence of their former owners. Sigmund Freud's contemplations of the uncanny, as 'something secretly familiar... which has undergone repression and then returned from it', or involving 'a regression to a time when the ego had not yet marked itself off sharply from the external world', resonate when considering Arctic relics.²⁷ Both the bodies of the voyagers and the environments where lost objects were rediscovered are eerily, materially imprinted into relics.

The bodies of voyagers, when rediscovered, are also considered as relics. Fredrick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood (Lord Dufferin) describes a whaler's skeleton found exposed to the frost-barren lands as 'gibbeted for ages on this bare rock, like a dead Prometheus'—referring to the Titan of Ancient Greek mythology who stole fire from the gods and gave it to humans.²⁸ The Titan Prometheus was bound to a rock and tortured by an eagle sent by Zeus, who pecks out his regenerated liver every day, for eternity. Dufferin identifies the eagle, or 'vulture' that attacks his Arctic Prometheus, as 'frost, gnawing for ever on his bleaching relics, and yet eternally preserving them!'²⁹ His reference to the Greek figure contemplates southerners' vain attempts to technologically master the Arctic landscape; their inability to make an adequate grave for the exposed coffin is a potent example. The skeleton symbolizes the whalers' failure to overcome the trials of the north. For Lord Dufferin, these bony remains of a fellow Arctic voyager eternally



preserved by the frost had become a relic and no longer counted among men as a 'brother mortal'.³⁰

As early as 1854–1855, voyagers who sought Franklin's expedition returned with relics and skeletal remains—grim allusions to their fate.³¹ Among 'Franklin Relics Brought by Dr. Rae' (1855) illustrated by Walter William May in *A Series of Fourteen Sketches made During the Voyage Up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin*, is pictured a 'gold band from officer's cap repaired with a piece of skin', an item usually held close to a man's personage. However, this cap band was broken and repaired with skin, a material apparently found and utilized by the officer during the Arctic voyage. As a worn item shaped by the body over time and repaired by hand, it bears impressions of both the officer's body and the environment where it was frozen, weathered, and eventually recovered. Another item, a silver spoon, is so personal and intimate that it enters one's mouth to deliver nourishment, yet it too was abandoned by the crew—was it lost in the regression to relationships of predator and prey

between men? In another set of illustrations 'Relics of the Franklin Expedition', published in the *Illustrated London News* (15 October 1859), an image of a mitten is especially potent. As a textile worn close to the skin, like the cap it is shaped by the body and work of the wearer. It also conforms to the environment where it is used or abandoned. These relics cause the reader to imagine the body and experiences of the voyager, as well as the land where the voyager struggled to live until he died horribly.

The Franklin mission's last official communication, the Victory Point document, was found in a cairn on King William Island in May 1859.³² The note's two handwritten reports, dated almost a year apart, record twenty-four deaths, entrapment in sea ice for over a year and a half, Franklin's death, and the desertion of the expedition's two ships.³³ Imagine the irony and terror felt by the mates aboard the *Fox* when they, like the lost voyagers they sought, became trapped in winter pack ice—a circumstance described in the news article printed below the illustration of the mitten. The Victory Point document—like Dufferin's 'bleaching relic' and the skeletons of deceased Franklin voyagers—was entombed on Arctic shores, found by those mortally adventurous enough to wander the northern reaches, and was then published as a relic. The crew of the *Fox* narrowly escaped the same ill fate.

1 Quoted in Janice Cavell, "The Sea of Ice and the Icy Sea: The Arctic Frame of *Frankenstein*," *Arctic* 70, no. 3 (September 2017): 296.

2 Edward Bulwer-Lytton, "The Haunted and the Haunters; or, The House and the Brain," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 86, no. 526 (August 1859): 244.

3 Chauncey C. Loomis, "The Arctic Sublime," in *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. G. B. Tennyson and U. C. Knoepfelmacher (University of California Press, 1987), 104-6; See also: James E. Marlow, "English Cannibalism: Dickens after 1859," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 23, no. 4 (Autumn 1983): 651.

4 Timothy Morton, "Frankenstein and Ecocriticism," in *The Cambridge Companion to 'Frankenstein'*, ed. Andrew Smith, (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 145-6.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*, 146-7. Emphasis in original.

7 Cavell agrees that 'this device was not intended merely to increase the book's appeal.' See: Cavell, 296.

8 Bulwer-Lytton, 244.

9 News of Franklin's Expedition found by the *Fox* in 1859 was recorded by John Cheyne's stereographs, discussed in this catalogue by Anthony Hamber.

10 Jules Verne, *The Field of Ice; or, The Adventures of Captain Hatteras* (Chicago: Donnelley, Loyd and Company, 1870), 173.

11 *Ibid.*, 170.

12 Loomis, 98.

13 Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus* (London: Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, 1818), 2:13.

14 *Ibid.*, 2:21.

15 Marlow, 653.

16 Shelley, 2:147-8.

17 *Ibid.*, 2:144.

18 Wilkie Collins, "The Frozen Deep," in *Readings in America* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1874), 58. *The Frozen Deep* can be considered as a collaboration between the named author, Wilkie Collins, and Charles Dickens. The original production of the story was in the form of a play first staged by amateur actors in 1857 at Tavistock House, for which a script was never printed or published. This version of the story was principally authored, and the stage production managed, by Dickens—from a draft first produced by Collins. The play was so well received and so popular that it was staged for Queen Victoria and thousands of other theatregoers in the summer of 1857. In 1860, Dickens handed off the manuscript to Collins, who by himself made many modifications for a new professional production of the play in 1866 at the Royal Olympic Theatre. For this version, Collins had his rewritten script 'printed, but not published' for the cast. This version of the play failed in front of audiences, and Collins refused to produce it further as a stage drama. However, Collins did go on to rewrite the 1866 version of the play into a narrative version, which was first published in 1874—this narrative edition 'is the only published, and the only readily accessible, version of "The Frozen Deep"' See: Robert Louis Brannan, ed., *Under the Management of Mr. Charles Dickens: His Production of "The Frozen Deep"* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 1-5.

19 Collins, 22.

20 *Ibid.*, 51-52.

21 *Ibid.*, 55.

22 Brannan, 1.

23 Charles Dickens, "The Long Voyage," *Household Words* 8, no. 197 (December 31, 1853): 409.

24 Marlow, 651. Charles Dickens had an 'early fascination with cannibalism,' and wrote for one of his fictional characters: 'I do believe it was not so much the dread of death as of coming to be one at that horrible kind of feast, that frightened me.' See: Marlow, 651-2.

25 Ibid., 650.

26 Shelley, 2:150.

27 Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny,'" in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 17, Ed. James Strachey, Tr. Alix Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1955), 245, 236.

28 Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, *A Yacht Voyage: Letters from High Latitudes*. (Toronto: Adam, Stevenson, and Company, 1873): 191-3.

29 Ibid., 191.

30 Ibid., 193.

31 The sunken wrecks of the two ships involved in the Franklin Expedition, HMS *Erebus* and *Terror* were not found until 2014. See: "Finding HMS *Erebus*: Wrecks of HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror* National Historic Site," Government of Canada, March 22, 2023, <https://parks.canada.ca/lhn-nhs/nu/epaveswrecks/culture/archeologie-archeology/decouvertes-discoveries/erebus>.

32 See: Board of Admiralty, *Sir John Franklin's Last Message*, 1847-1859, Royal Museums Greenwich, <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-504898>.

33 Sylvain Raymond, "A Very Special Piece of Paper," Canadian Museum of History, August 16, 2018, <https://www.historymuseum.ca/blog/a-very-special-piece-of-paper/>.

Impressions in Copper: Diplomatic Dispatches in the Engravings of George Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery*

JULIA LUM

'Thus you see my good friend I am once more entrapped in this infernal ocean', wrote George Vancouver in a letter likely intended for the father of midshipman and artist John Sykes, to which he added the additional frustrations that no 'information respecting our voyage' could be shared.¹ Vancouver was busy dispelling the fabled existence of a Northwest Passage, conducting a laborious survey of coastline stretching from present-day California to Alaska. But his expedition's secret instructions were to gather vital intelligence about rival European activity in the Northwest Coast of North America, a missive embedded in a coastal view of Yuquot, a harbour on Nootka Island 'where the wind blows from all directions'.² The British Admiralty was anxious, first and foremost, to resolve a territorial dispute with Spain over the lands and waters of what they instead called 'Friendly Cove'. Published as Plate VII in Volume One of the voyage's official account (1798), a modest topographical view belies the site's important place in North Pacific mercantile exploitation and the 'Nootka Crisis' that required Vancouver's negotiations with Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. War over the North Pacific was narrowly avoided through a series of conventions between Britain and Spain, two imperial powers jostling for sovereignty in Indigenous territory. A satirical print displayed at the



exhibition rooms of publisher William Holland depicts a surly George III duk-ing it out with Charles IV for ‘dominion of the seas’.

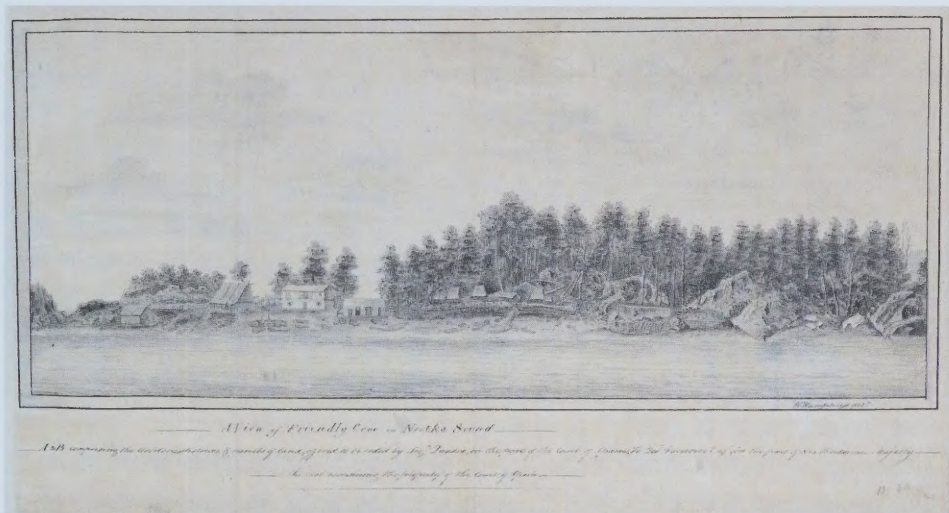
Political dominion of Pacific waterways wasn’t the only thing at stake; sea otters obtained from Nuu-chah-nulth Nations fetched enormous prices in China, leading to an intense and competitive European and American maritime fur trade.³ ‘Discovery’ was a feeble premise, given the indispensable role of Indigenous labour and hospitality in their own lands and waters. Canoes gliding across the water give inadequate hint to the essential role played by Mowachaht-Muchalaht in this historical episode. The copperplate engraving instead grips multiple acts of witnessing—holding in balance the navigator’s subjective impressions of the international dispute with the

‘Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound’, ‘from a Sketch taken on the Spot by H. Humphries [sic]’, in Volume 1 of George Vancouver’s *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World* (1798).



seemingly neutral topography visible from the ship's deck. Images like this one embed markers of aesthetic control that sought to suppress the peregrinations of translation, trade, and geographic uncertainty that more visibly surface in the commander's correspondence. By the conclusion of his years-long voyage, Vancouver had to marshal into legible visual evidence a series of readings and misreadings of rival European claims, and of Indigenous protocols. The materiality of the engraver's copper plates served as a ballast to an unsteady voyage mission and Nootka Sound's artistic mediation.

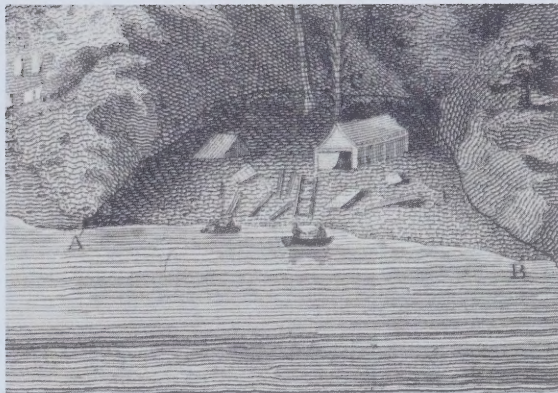
Imagery, and the production of *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, were of acute concern to Vancouver, who made frequent comparisons of his publication to those of James Cook's Pacific expeditions (1769–1778). In a list of proposed copper plates forwarded by the commander to the Admiralty in 1795, 'Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound' is starred with an imploring note that it was 'absolutely necessary,



that it should be Engraved'.⁴ Based on a view sketched by the expedition's teenage midshipman Henry Humphrys in 1792, the plate is the seventh of the official account and pictures a cove's placid shoreline dotted with small watercraft, dwellings, and fenced-in gardens backed by tall stands of trees that resemble lodgepole pines.⁵ Humphrys' 'on the spot' drawing was adapted in 1789 by watercolourist William Alexander, who embellished the otherwise workaday drawings of Vancouver's draftsmen.⁶ James Heath, official engraver to George III, then etched and engraved into copper the lateral expanse of Yuquot's shoreline, which had been the continuous site of Indigenous summer residence for at least five thousand years.⁷ Vancouver's account implies the structures and stockades lining the beach are Spanish, but the Nuuchah-nulth had long established adaptable post and beam houses with removable walls; planks lining one structure, at right, may await transport back to the winter village.⁸

The artistic transposition of Yuquot onto paper attempted to broach the gaps of translation between topographies and cultures, underscoring the transoceanic relay at the base of illustrations in Arctic voyage publications. Vancouver was charged with carrying out the terms of the Nootka

Drawing by Henry Humphrys, 'A View of Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound', showing the shore with huts and trees; an area of land to be ceded 'by Sigr. Quadra on the part of the Court of Spain to Geo. Vancouver' is enclosed by a red dotted line.



Convention, which stipulated the return of land allegedly taken from trader John Meares in 1789 by Captain Esteban José Martínez Fernández y Martínez, who had also seized two British-owned ships carrying supplies and Chinese artisans bound for Yuquot. Humphrys' 'A View of Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound' was one of the twenty-seven drawings secreted through Mexico to England in 1793, dispatched by Vancouver, who eagerly awaited the Crown's response to a dispute over the convention's terms.⁹ At the heart of the conflict was a piece of land Humphrys delineated in red ink as 'A' and 'B' to mark the boundaries of the miniscule cove that Bodega y Quadra offered to the British. This offer drastically departed from Britain's interpretation of the Convention's first article, which Vancouver insisted was the return of Nootka '*in toto*, and port Cox'.¹⁰ While William Alexander's watercolour—a medium associated with polite taste—added picturesque flourishes and human interest to Humphry's composition, the image retained its spare topographical approach to an interpretive dilemma. Converting this second image onto the plate, Heath incised a solid and insistent line of the land's boundary beyond the water's edge, like an intaglio retort to Spain's insult. The intended viewer retains their secure vantage from a ship's deck, a seemingly impartial observer to an international question. Unsure of the Crown's precise designs for Nootka Sound, Vancouver ventured in his account that

it 'might not be impossible, that a settlement was in contemplation to be made at this important station, which had become the general rendez-vous for the traders of almost all nations'.¹¹ The engraving's appeals to a disinterested witness temper the uncertain investments that beset Vancouver, his vague instructions, and the diplomatic stalemate that was not put to rest until 1795, when both empires temporarily stood down their respective claims.

Copperplate engravings' aesthetic and material values nonetheless remained at the forefront of discussions between Vancouver and government officials upon the expedition's return to England. The ships' return in 1795 coincided with the establishment of the Hydrographic Office under Alexander Dalrymple, who understood the critical role imagery served to consolidate and standardize geographic information. In 1796, Vancouver requested that all drawings and charts be returned to him from Dalrymple's office.¹² A subsequent letter begged that quality engravings were 'necessary to the illustration of the work', prompting the Admiralty to permit Vancouver to solicit quotes and commission engravers.¹³ But another interpretive loggerhead emerged, this time regarding the valuation of each plate. Dalrymple's 1798 reply to a detailed inventory inquired why the artists' quotes were not broken down by 'Copper Plate', 'Engraving', and 'Writing', quibbling that the valuation of the copper itself should be calculated.¹⁴ Such fixed values for art and artistic labour went hand-in-hand with a desire for landscape representation's fixity. Analyzing Dalrymple's investments in 'views', Kelly Presutti contends that coastal terrain's fractal character, attended by erosion of both shoreline and cartographic faith, required eye-witness images that 'invoke a scanning perspective with a stable horizon line (rather than a vanishing point) and [which] often have an exaggerated verticality that allows more of the shore to come to focus'.¹⁵ Hovering between coastal profile and landscape, the composition of 'Friendly Cove' invites viewers to make necessary temporal and perspectival shifts as they recalibrate between image, narrative account, and map. On the question of editing and selection, the secretary of the Admiralty sternly informed



Vancouver that they alone would 'hereafter decide upon the Views which are to be engraved'.¹⁶ Their selections notably omitted John Sykes' ethnographic portraits of Indigenous peoples.¹⁷

'Friendly Cove' produced a legible reading of a distant landscape in the face of political and geographic misapprehension; it also engendered a singular, stable perspective from a ship's deck when a host of competing eyewitness 'views' had vied for Vancouver's attention. Not only had the navigator misread his Spanish counterparts, requiring a bevy of translations and interviews with sailors passing in and out of the sound, but he was grievously blind to the importance of the Mowachaht Confederacy. Upon arriving at Yuquot in 1792, Vancouver and his crew had failed to recognize Maquinna, the Tayihawil (Chief) whose authority and friendship European commerce relied upon. Denied access to board the *Discovery* when it first anchored, of this indignity Maquinna 'complained in a most angry manner to Sen^r Quadra'.¹⁸ The offer of blue cloth and sheets of copper—trade articles that fit into existing structures of wealth—temporarily quelled the offense. The Spanish understood better than the British the importance of diplomacy with the hereditary chiefs.¹⁹

Copper was thus instrumental to the voyage's diplomatic mediations. Prior to setting out, the *Discovery's* botanist Archibald Menzies, who had previously traveled to the Northwest Coast, entreated his patron Sir Joseph Banks for metalworking tools and sheets of copper 'most Sought after'

Detail of the coordinates of Tahsis marked on the coastal profile of the entrance of Nootka Sound, from 'Views of Parts of the Coast of Northwest America' by B.T. Pouncy after a drawing by Henry Humphrys in atlas folio of George Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World* (1798).



at Nootka.²⁰ To satisfy the demand for copper and brass, Cook's crew had resorted to destroying kettles, boilers, and candlesticks.²¹ By the time of Vancouver's second and third visits to Nootka Sound, his meetings and material exchanges of copper with Maquinna grew more frequent. The coastal profile of Nootka Sound in the atlas folio accompanying Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery* even identifies the inlet entrance to the Mowachaht village of Tahsis, today the traditional territory of the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation. And yet during his visits to Tahsis the navigator remained ill-equipped to read signs of Indigenous sovereignty, in displays of wealth, status, and rights.²² The cultural significance of copper, which was prized by Northwest Coast societies prior to Europeans, requires its own detailed discussion. It is worth emphasizing, however, that Vancouver and his crew would have seen their gifted sheet copper reshaped into various adornments and regalia components, including conical copper pendants and possibly even ceremonial weaponry.²³ While Vancouver relented to this metal's importance in Nuuchah-nulth lands and waters, he would come to rely upon copper in another context: to translate 'views' in an economy of vision, rendering with dispassionate legibility British desires to extract resources and imperial destiny from those very same places.

1 George Vancouver to Sykes, as quoted in "Documents: Original Vancouver Letters," *The Washington Historical Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1927): 56.

2 Yuquot is considered the "centre of the world" by the Mowachaht-Muchalaht First Nation. See "Yuquot Agenda Paper," in *Nuu-Chah-Nulth Voices, Histories, Objects & Journeys*, ed. Alan L. Hoover (Victoria: Royal British Columbia Museum, 2000), 11–32.

3 Cook's account of his third voyage (1784) had publicized this lucrative trade potential.

4 George Vancouver to Evan Nepean, February 15 1798, ADM 1/2630/428, The National Archives, Kew.

5 Other voyage artists included John Sykes, Thomas Heddington, Zachary Mudge. Manuscript journals suggest that 'at least ten' of Vancouver's crew created artwork, and naturalist Archibald Menzies' botanical drawings were engraved by Sir William Hooker. See: Andrew David, *The Artists on Vancouver's Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America*, published in association with The Vancouver Conference on Exploration and Discovery (Burnaby: Simon Fraser University, 1992), 5–6.

6 William Alexander's watercolours are in the collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. To view the digital image, visit https://collections.carli.illinois.edu/digital/collection/nby_eayer/id/1971/rec/10. Alexander's obituary, which was reproduced throughout the nineteenth-century, suggests that he made copies after William Daniell. There is no evidence other than this entry to suggest Daniell's involvement in the project.

7 Alan D. McMillan, *Since the Time of the Transformers: The Ancient Heritage of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Ditidaht and Makah* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 126–77.

8 John Jewitt, an American taken captive by Maquinna in 1803, observed that in early September at Yuquot 'everything is taken with them, even the planks of their houses, in order to cover their new dwellings.' John R. Jewitt, *A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of J.R. Jewitt* (Middletown: Printed by Loomis and Richards; repr. by Rowland Hurst, Wakefield, 1820), 103.

Spanish structures can be identified by cross-referencing a drawing by surgeon Sigismund Bacstrom who arrived at Nootka Sound with the *Butterworth* in 1792 and 1793, in which he identifies a bakery, infirmary, Commandant's house, and carpenter's shop.

9 Vancouver sent two copies of lists of drawings by Humphrys, Sykes, and charts with a letter addressed to Philip Stephens, January 12, 1793, ADM 1/2629/15, The National Archives, Kew: 'You will herewith receive lists of the Charts, Drawings, etc. accompanying my Journals from the time of our departure from England to the end of the year 1792. Transmitted by Lieutenant Broughton; in case of any unfortunate accident happening to him or them during the passage'.

10 George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World* (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1798), 401. Vancouver adds that he 'could not entertain an idea of hoisting the British flag on the spot of land point out by Senr Quadra, not extending more than an hundred yards in any direction'. The two parties also disagreed where Spanish dominion was to terminate—at Juan de Fuca Strait or the Columbia River.

11 Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 394.

12 Vancouver to Nepean, March 25, 1796, ADM 1/2629/438, The National Archives, Kew.

13 Vancouver to Nepean, July 4, 1796, ADM 1/2629/441, The National Archives, Kew.

- 14 Vancouver to Nepean, February 15, 1798, ADM 1/2630/427, The National Archives, Kew.
- 15 Kelly Presutti, "A Better Idea than the Best Constructed Charts": Watercolor Views in Early British Hydrography," *Grey Room* 85 (Fall 2021): 74, 77.
- 16 Quoted in W. Kaye Lamb, "Introduction," in *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1791–1795*, ed. W. Kaye Lamb (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984), 228.
- 17 The Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley holds several of Sykes' watercolours from the expedition.
- 18 Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, 385.
- 19 Freeman M. Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco De La Bodega Y Quadra* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 203, 230.
- 20 Archibald Menzies to Joseph Banks, April 4, 1791, as quoted in Lamb, 39.
- 21 Alan D. McMillan and Denis E. St. Claire, "Monterey Shells and Trade Copper: A Glimpse into the Early Contact Period from a Nuu-Chah-Nulth Outer-Coast Lookout Site," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2021): 12, doi:10.51270/45.1.1.
- 22 Vancouver attended ceremonies in which his narratives reveal only a passing, if not dismissive, interest.
- 23 McMillan and St. Claire, 1–19.

Johan Turi's *Muittalus Samid Birra*: The Creation of Imagery and Wor[*I*]ds

MARIA NORDVALL

Many have sought to analyse *Muittalus*, a work that has had, and continues to have, a profound impact and influence. When published in 1910, it was the first book addressing Sámi life and conditions written in a Sámi language, by a Sámi. Its author, Johan Turi, (1854–1936) is memorialized with the epigraph ‘Author of the Sámi’ on his tombstone. Turi’s life started in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), Norway, followed by a move to Sweden and Čohkkiras (Jukkasjärvi) parish in the 1880s.

The preface to Turi’s book is written by Hjalmar Lundbohm (1855–1926), then director of the iron ore mining company Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara Aktie Bolag (LKAB) in Giron (Kiruna), Sweden, whose funding and involvement facilitated Turi’s publication. The Danish artist and ethnographer Emilie Demant Hatt (1873–1958) played a significant role in editing and compiling the manuscript, adding footnotes and providing further explanations. The book’s 193 pages primarily depict life in the mountain regions of Sápmi. Turi’s intention was to document Sámi culture, traditions, history, and the injustices faced by the Sámi people, in the hope that such knowledge would support the Sámi cause. The book captures, both in text and images, a wide range of topics, from childbirth, marriage, healing arts, and hunting, to migration with reindeer, but all reflecting traditional knowledge filtered through Turi’s perception and expressing an intricate Sámi worldview and way of being in the world.



Muittalus contains fourteen illustrated plates in pencil and ink related to the various themes of the book, drawn by Turi. Artistically, his illustrations go beyond mere accompaniment to the text or clarifications of the stories; they stand as significant works of art. However, it is important to not separate them from the text either. Turi's ability to weave together oral, written, and visual narratives offers a unique insight into Sámi storytelling, allowing us to zoom in on details while at the same time perceive the larger, interconnected whole. Through this interweaving, which I argue constitutes the exceptionality of the work, I propose a dual approach to interpreting and understanding *Muittalus*: the first is rooted in the conceptual framework of *juoigat* (joiking, Sámi singing) and the second is the idea of Sámi cosmology and its relation to the circle and the cyclical.



But what is juoigat and how can we use this as a lens on *Muittalus*? Turi describes the nature of juoigan as remembering: places, such as lakes or mountain peaks, animals or people recalled with various types of emotions such as warmth, love, sadness or hate. The juoiggus is a song expressed as a reflection or maybe even the very essence of an object, person or place. The melody is of most significance, even though sometimes a few words may appear as a way to share the subject. The juoiggus is in many ways the basis of Sámi storytelling and literature, and art is often perceived as an extension of it. So, the question arises: does Turi, in his way of using text and drawings, in fact juoigat the history and present of the Sámi people? If



Muittalus is perceived as a juoggus, its core is proposed to be the concept of a circle and the cyclical.

This theme becomes evident in the drawings: circles and the cyclical are found both in a very concrete, purely figurative way but also as a concept underlying all the images. This is demonstrated in 'I rengärdet på hösten', where we see the characteristic round shape of a reindeer collar. The collar's function is to separate the reindeer, which became mixed up during the relocation and moving. Now every owner needs to find their own. Within the round shaped drawing are different spatialities, expressed by a zigzag pattern contained by strongly drawn lines. These outlines have openings,

where human figures are standing in between them and sometimes animals are passing through.

A Sámi interpretation of this drawing could be a juoiggus, the fundamental nature of a very important event for the herders, but also a section from a larger cycle of the year. The figures in the drawing can be seen from different directions, a circle of knowledge shared between elders, adults, children, the reindeer, the land, the worldly, the spherical, and the underground. The image invites the viewer to perceive these connections from multiple perspectives, merging the worldly with the spiritual in a movement that is circular and never ending, the circle of life. This thematic pattern is repeated in the other works, with Turi's juoigan, performed with pencil, imagery and wor[l]ds, where one is invited on a journey of life's continuum. This is expressed in numerous layers, as illustrated in 'På flyttning', where several reindeer rajder (a train of reindeer carrying belongings) move through the landscape during fall migration, or in 'En lägerplats på hösten', and 'Ett vinterläger' that show Sámi Siida (community) during two excerpts of the Sámi year, traditionally consisting of eight seasons to more accurately reflect the changing cycles in nature.

The drawing 'En kåta på högfjällen' shows a Sámi conical tent; one engages with the social arrangement of the spatiality and all its complexity, expressed with images and handwritten text alongside each other. The idea that everything is holistic becomes clear in the imagery: there are separate drawings on different pages, but they hook into each other and interact through the concept of the cycle. In the last two drawings the starry night and the cosmos itself fade out the melody of this juoiggus, but really it is just opening for something more, a breath before someone else starts juoigat again.

It is certainly Turi's personal narrative that is written, drawn, and, as I have suggested, juoigat, in *Muittalus*. But it is also an exploration of the history and culture of the Indigenous Sámi people at a time when it was unusual, if not unique, to portray that culture from the inside. Turi creates a bridge

between several generations, a transfer of knowledge that is possible to touch, that's tangible, for us even today. The book is an important time capsule of what was happening in the Arctic, Sápmi, and wider Scandinavia at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, its importance is much more than as a historical document. If there is a central idea to be drawn from *Muittalus juoigan*, it is the interconnectedness of all things. Much like the dialectical relationship among the elements in the circle and cyclical depicted of Turi, all humans participate in a circle together. The work is over one hundred years old. Much of what Turi describes are struggles that are still going on, and the Sámi are still fighting for the right to their culture. But above all, perhaps, the right for the Arctic and their world to remain at all with the great climate threat. So, the question is, will the continuity of the circle endure, or will it be disrupted? What imagery and wor[l]ds will we create next?

Martin Engelbrecht: *Whaling in Spitsbergen* (c. 1760)

JASON EDWARDS

Bavarian-born Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756) commenced his career in a publishing house in Augsburg before relocating to Berlin in 1708 to become a designer and illustrator. Returning home in 1719, Englebrecht and his brother Christian (1672–1735) established their own publishing house made famous by their peepshows. Described as miniature worlds, paper peepshows create an illusion of depth with individual cut-out panels placed one in front of the other to build up the details of a total image. Examples, such as those made by Engelbrecht, would have slid into a wooden frame and been viewed through a peephole at one end. Later designs were joined together like an elongated concertina. *Whaling in Spitsbergen* explores the vicarious pleasures and perils of Arctic whaling in Spitsbergen. This earliest Danish colony was located on the west coast of the Svalbard archipelago, north of Scandinavia, east of Kalaallit Nunaat, and at the crossing point of the Greenland Sea, Arctic Ocean, and Barents Strait; a picturesque, serpentine, rocky coastline Engelbrecht depicts as *terra nullius*, a colonial dream, without a resistant, surviving Indigenous population.¹

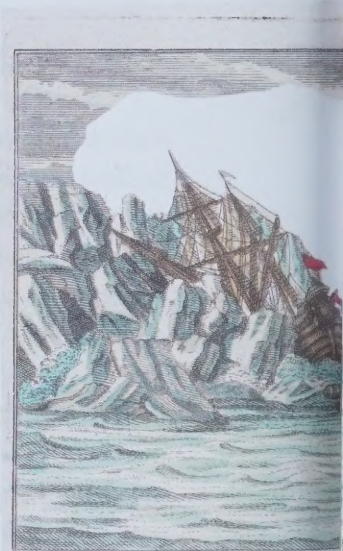
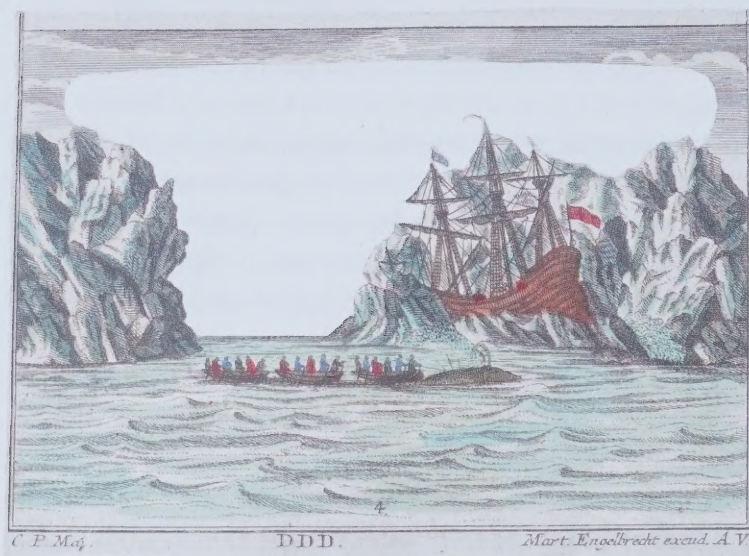
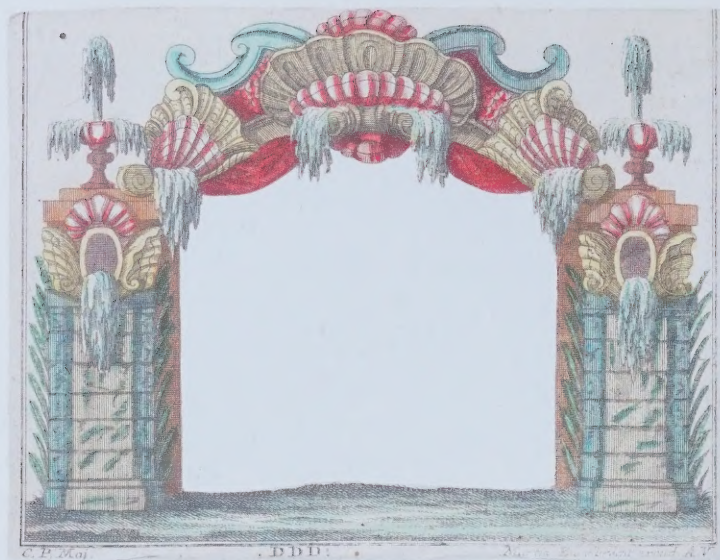
Recalling a baroque frontispiece, Englebrecht's carnivalesque peepshow is theatrically framed by a then-fashionably pastel, rococo proscenium crowned by aqua cresting waves and textured with resonant, blood-red fish scales. The arch rests on two etched spinal columns, recalling the period's scrimshaw carved by whalers into leftover whale bones.² The proscenium carries a pair of raised blood-red curtains and is decorated with yellow and striped pink-and-white shells.³ In addition, viewers can see stalactite-like

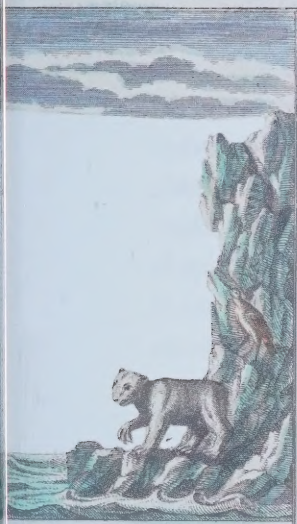


icicles; a pair of unlikely aqua frozen fountains; and torrents of icy water similarly stopped in their tracks as they gush from a pair of spouts. The theatre appears to have endured a characteristically speedy, polar temperature plunge, with torrents left dangling and fountain spouts frozen in mid-air, echoing the spouting jets of whale blowholes seen below within the proscenium. Sailors used the sight of whale blowhole spurts to locate them from afar, thus quickly incorporating spectators into the whaling scene.

Beyond the proscenium, viewers find themselves imaginatively within the chilly, diminutive audience of a Lilliputian theatre, emphasizing the gigantic proportions of the whales ahead. That, or spectators are colossally scaled compared to the minute peepshow seascape, as if emotionally countering, with their own gigantism, the enormous scale of a right whale.⁴ In addition, the peepshow's outer frame resembles a fanciful, faux-ruin, rococo grotto, whose columns rest on uneven green ground, with reedlike

Martin Engelbrecht's peepshow, *Whaling in Spitsbergen* (c. 1760) lined up with depth as it would have been viewed in a wooden peepshow case, without the proscenium.





C. P. May.

DDD.

Mart. Engelbrecht ex auct. A. V.

forms sprouting from the columns' sides, which are smudged, mossy, on their facades. As such, Engelbrecht's viewers are like locomotive aristocrats perambulating a country estate's follies, playfully and safely invited into its cave-like recesses.

Moving from an experience of theatricality to absorption, in the second card viewers find themselves flanked, in classic eighteenth-century European landscape fashion, within a pair of cliffs, safely enclosing them in front of the prospect, the landowning or colonial 'monarch of all I survey' perspective.⁵ On either side of the viewer, Engelbrecht positions a pair of generic gulls standing on the rocks, suggesting successful colonization. A third glides down from the cliffs, diving to pluck a fish out of the water, paralleling the practice of the whalers, or divebombing the polar bear on the left, suggesting, less reassuringly, Arctic ecological competition. The bears eye one another across the choppy green water, the right with its front left clawed paw raised, swiping the air to deter its rival intruding on its territory. The mammals represent a sublime moment of quickly, easily mastered anxiety.

The predating gulls and graphically hatched bears, their stony grey fur dusted by the dirty, dissolving, volcanic cliffs around them, naturalise the whale hunt behind, suggesting the violence of native polar food acquisition and the threats to 'heroic' human life in the region.⁶ Engelbrecht's unconvincing bears, however, seem less violent apex predators and more like flanking cattle in the period's estate painting, incorporating Svalbard into a familiar, aristocratic, rural-green, fishing, agrarian, or hunt scene.⁷ Mouths and beaks closed, squawks and growls silenced, Engelbrecht suggests only the sounds of choppy waves against the rocks. The peepshow is a mournfully silent scene, the gulls, bears and whale more absorptively self-involved than theatrically performative.⁸

Engelbrecht's third card extends the seascape into further two-and-a-half-dimensional depth. This again features choppy waters and ice-, moss- or algae-covered cliffs, deepening the scene's green tonality, suggesting the turbulent ocean has splashed up against the rocks; dense algae has enticed

the hungry whales, and represented good hunting grounds. Penetrating deeper, the fourth card depicts three whaleboats drawing themselves by ropes towards a faceless, triply harpooned whale with spouts of water, but no blood, fountaining from its blowhole. Its bloodless, aqueous facelessness makes it strategically difficult to grieve.⁹ The seventeen whalers, elegantly silhouetted like Christ's fisherman disciples on the water, are camouflaged in green and blue, and dowsed in blood. This sanguine patina similarly drenches the triple-masted whale ship to the right, hemmed in by ice against the cliffs, its differently coloured upper pennants signalling its presence above the rocks, to alert fellow whalers that assistance was required.¹⁰

Behind the whale boats the water is still, the calm after the chase. The foreground remains churned, the waves' black-shadowed crests evoking the forms of seals, similarly hunted by the whalers for their blubber, skins, and meat; one right angle triangle shadow suggesting a shark's fin, a more threatening fellow predator. The hunt is over, the flensing and rendering yet to begin, but Engelbrecht evokes the former as viewers also seductively peel back the peepshow's layers in search of further treasures.¹¹

Engelbrecht's penultimate card depicts another lilting, ice-bound ship, its shattered foremast toppling. A soon-to-be-launched whale boat is adjacent, awaiting the sailors who are rescuing a sack of provisions from the ship, a barrel littering the adjacent ice, and a temporarily lost crate floating out to the right. The whalers' red, white, and blue uniforms appropriately recall the Danish and Norwegian flags, suggesting experimental early Scandinavian colonization in progress. But there's again little to fear: the stranded whalers will be encountered by those in the foreground, sailing beyond the bay. Sir John Franklin's paradigmatically tragic Arctic world was still a century away.

Finally, in the peepshow's surprising, but reassuringly necessary, deep background, invisible from the proscenium view, Engelbrecht depicts five further whaleships in a middle-distance bay. They sail towards a volcanic, bright yellow sun, blazing in a cloudy, mountainous sky, behind a range of

steep cliffs with descending serpentine glaciers; a vibrantly live, ongoingly colourful geology that gives the lie to the monochromatic white horizons so common in later, mid-nineteenth century Arctic prints.¹²

The ships might be a fleet of whalers, or, given the conventions of eighteenth-century marine painting, fewer boats seen simultaneously in different views: the two nearest in stern view, the next in starboard view, and the two remaining in port view. These multiple ship's portrait orientations appealed to their owners, and suggest the oceanic, colonial-commercial mobility of the ships, cargo, and crew.¹³ The right two ships again sport billowing, blood red pennants. The fleet track a final serpentine line, through the cliffs, as they sail towards sunset and home, their voyage complete; or journey towards another adventure if viewers read the sun as rising. Europe's engagement with the circumpolar world was just commencing.¹⁴

For Isabelle Gapp

1 For more, see Sidney K. Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). For the conspicuous absence of Indigenous peoples in long-eighteenth-century European depictions of whaling, see Jason Edwards, "Ecosmopolitan Encounters in the Circum-Polar Contact Zone," History of Art Research Portal: Turner and the Whale, 2017, <https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turner-whaleEssay.jsp?id=301>.

2 For subsequent surveys of the inter-relationship between whalers and Inuit, see Ross, W. Gilles, *Whaling and Eskimos: Hudson Bay 1860–1915* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975); and, from an Inuit perspective, Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whalers Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1989).

3 For more on the complex cultural history of shells in this period, see Beth Fowkes Tobin, *The Duchess's Shells: Natural History Collecting in the Age of Cook's Voyages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

4 For the paradigmatic account of unstable scalar relationships during voyages of 'discovery' in the period, see Daniel Defoe, *Gulliver's Travels* (1726).

5 See Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

6 For more, see Huw Lewis Jones, *Imagining the Arctic: Heroism, Spectacle, and Polar Exploration* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2007).

7 For more on eighteenth-century depictions of agrarian and hunted animals, see Diana Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

8 To listen to a recreated whaling soundscape, see Martha Cattell, Jason Edwards, Fergus McGlynn, "Can the Sub-Artic Speak?," History of Art Portal: Turner and the Whale, 2017, <https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleSoundscape.jsp>. For more on the importance of sound to claims for animal rights, see Stephen Eisenmann, *The Cry of Nature: Art and the Making of Animal Rights* (London: Reaktion, 2013).

9 For more, see Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London: Verso, 2009).

10 For more on the rich materiality of animal-based pigments in this context, see Jason Edwards, "Turner's Dark Veganism," History of Art Portal: Turner and the Whale, 2017, <https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssay.jsp?id=305>.

11 On 'rendering' in the context of whaling, see Sarah Monks' "Rendering," History of Art Portal: Turner and the Whale, 2017, <https://hoaportal.york.ac.uk/hoaportal/turnerwhaleEssay.jsp?id=307>.

12 For the polychrome and monochrome Arctics respectively, see Isabelle Gapp, "A Woman in the Far North: Anna Boberg and the Norwegian Glacial Landscape," *Kunst og kultur* 104, no. 2 (2021), 82–96; and Jen Hill, *White Horizons: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009).

13 For more, see George S. Keyes, ed. *Mirror of Empire: Dutch Marine Art of the Seventeenth Century*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *Spreading Canvas: Eighteenth-Century British Marine Painting*, ed. Eleanor Hughes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); and Remmelt Daalder, *Van de Velde and Son: Marine Painters*. (Leiden: Primavera, 2016).

14 For more, see Isabelle Gapp, *A Circumpolar Landscape: Art and Environment in Scandinavia and North America, 1896–1933* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2024).

‘Successful Arctic Camera Work’: Photography and the *Fram* Expedition, 1893–1896

NANNA KATRINE LÜDERS KAALUND

In 1893, the Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930) embarked on an expedition with a small team in search of the geographical North Pole. Many other expeditions had tried, and failed, to reach this far north throughout the nineteenth century, but Nansen believed he had uncovered a new strategy for travelling in the polar regions that would ensure success. Nansen’s plan was to deliberately get his ship stuck in the ice and let the drift of the currents carry the crew to their goal. Since it was unclear how long it would take to eventually drift from their starting point in the ice in the Russian Arctic to the North Pole, the expedition had their purpose-built ship, the *Fram*, furnished with supplies for several years, as well as a range of equipment, including seven cameras.

A year after his return in 1896, Nansen published a travel narrative in two volumes, in Norwegian as *Fram over Polhavet* and in English as *Farthest North*.¹ The Norwegian and English versions had some variations, with different selections of illustrations and modes of image reproduction. This essay focuses primarily on the 1898 English edition, which included over one hundred full-page woodcuts, many based on photographs, as well as smaller in-text woodcuts and maps. The 1897 English and Norwegian editions included additional coloured pastel and pencil sketches and photogravures that were not included in the later English version. In all editions, the images not only visualised the fauna and flora of the Arctic, and the landscape and

natural phenomena they observed, but also documented the expedition's crew, portraying their day-to-day life as they drifted along the ice on the *Fram*. When Nansen and Hjalmar Johansen (1867–1913) left the *Fram* and the rest of the crew behind in an effort to reach the North Pole by dog sledge, they also brought photographic equipment with them. The result was a large visual archive, providing ample material for Nansen to work with upon his return home. The visual materials produced during their venture played a key role in Nansen's efforts to establish his project and mode of travelling in the Arctic as the foundation of a new era of Polar exploration, rather than simply another link in the long chain of European and Euro-American expeditions.

PHOTOGRAPHING A NEW WAY OF ARCTIC TRAVEL

Nansen was no stranger to the power of photography in shaping his public image. For his crossing of Greenland in 1888, he and his crew had brought along a camera that used Eastman's American stripping films with enough rolls for 240 exposures. This was a brand-new type of camera, particularly useful when travelling light. It was easy to operate and required minimal preparation. Many of the photographs were reproduced in his travel narrative recounting the journey, *The First Crossing of Greenland* (1890), as well as in newspapers from several different national contexts.² The plan to cross Greenland from east to west on skis had been a dangerous one, and the photographs, mixed with hand-drawn illustrations, highlighted the daring nature and physical prowess of the crew. As with the use of skis, the mode of travel employed by the *Fram* expedition was also experimental. *Fram* can loosely be translated from Norwegian to English as 'forward' or 'forth', and it was Nansen's mission to initiate a new era of Arctic travel.

At the time of Nansen's expedition, there were four main routes that had been used in attempts to reach the North Pole: through Smith Sound, via Franz Josef Land; through the Bering Strait; and via Spitsbergen. One of the recurring issues for the past expeditions, no matter the route, had been that their ships would get stuck in the ice, be crushed, or drift with the ice



KVELDSTEMNING UD FOR SIBIRIENS NORDKYST. Akvarelskisse af forfatteren. 12te september 1893.

currents, forcing the crews to evacuate. Nansen sought to turn this problem into an advantage. As he stated in a talk given at the Christiania Geographical Society in 1890, one ought to 'pay attention to the actually existent forces of nature, and see to work *with* and not *against* them'.³ Nansen planned to deliberately get the *Fram* stuck in the ice and drift along an ocean current he believed flowed from the Russian Arctic through to the North Pole down past the eastern coast of Greenland. Nansen planned to have the *Fram* built to withstand the pressure of the drifting ice. He estimated that the drift would take two years, and he expressed strong confidence that this plan would work. Many others were unconvinced.

Nansen presented his plans to the Royal Geographical Society in London in 1892 at a meeting attended by several other Arctic travellers.⁴ Their discussions were published in the society's journal as well as in the general

press internationally. The response to Nansen's proposal was marked by careful advice to drop the plan. For example, George Strong Nares (1831–1915) celebrated 'his plucky proposal' but pointed out that Nansen's project was 'totally disregarding' the 'adopted Arctic axioms for successfully navigating an icy region'.⁵ Similarly, Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817–1911) was unable to attend the meeting but wrote a letter stating that he hoped Nansen 'may dispose of his admirable courage, skill, and resources in the prosecution of some less perilous attempts to solve the mystery of the Arctic Area'.⁶ In an article summarizing Nansen's project and the scientific discussions surrounding it, the American Army officer and polar traveller Adolphus Greely (1844–1935) called the project 'unwise, impracticable' and 'little short of suicidal'.⁷ In a similar vein, an article in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* noted that the project 'may be successful' if they have favourable conditions in the ice, 'but the alternative fate of success or death must deter all but the boldest, or most reckless, men from offering themselves as members'.⁸

Success or death. These were the possible outcomes predicted by many contemporary commentators, with the scale tilting strongly towards the latter. With the crossing of Greenland, Nansen had already proven himself willing to take risks, but many thought his plans with the *Fram* went a step too far. When Nansen did return with his crew still alive, it was celebrated as a success. Though they had failed to reach the North Pole, Nansen had still, in the words of Nares, 'proved that his bold idea of so continuing polar exploration, which received our outspoken but friendly criticism a little more than four years ago, was thoroughly well conceived in every respect'.⁹ It was particularly noteworthy that while the *Fram* had not drifted to the North Pole, the ship had been able to withstand being frozen into and drifting with the ice. The President of the Royal Geographical Society, Clements Markham (1830–1916), celebrated Nansen's 'great ability and resourcefulness, his great scientific knowledge, his marvellous powers of endurance' and awarded Nansen the council's special gold medal. At the same meeting, Nansen gave a presentation that included about fifty slides projected

on the screen, 'partly from photographs and partly from Dr. Nansen's own coloured sketches'. These illustrations were described as 'admirably executed, clear, and effective.'¹⁰

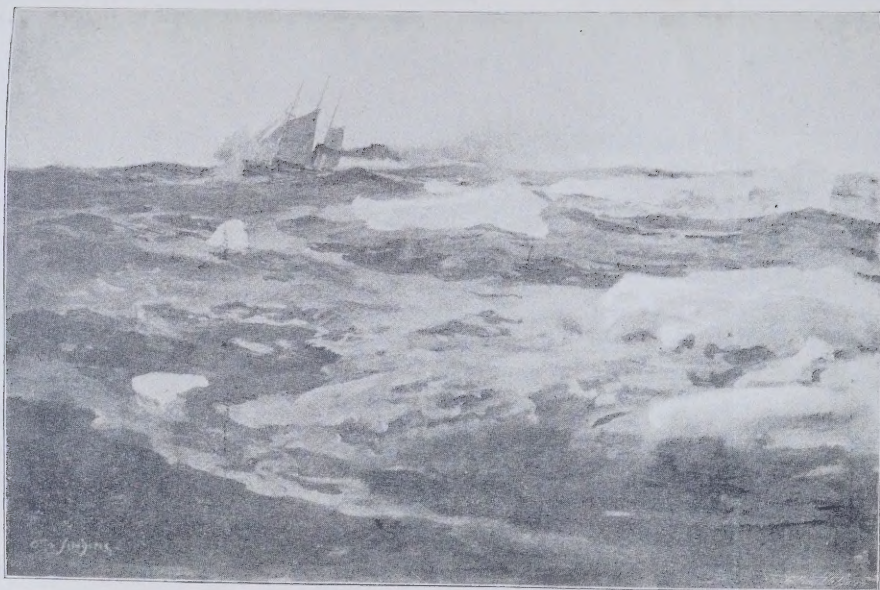
Photography was a strategic tool for Nansen, used to construct specific narratives about the Arctic and his role as an explorer. The photographs taken during the expedition were carefully curated to depict the Arctic as a vast, untamed wilderness, and to portray Nansen as a heroic figure embodying the spirit of exploration. His decision to leave the *Fram* behind and attempt to reach the North Pole by dog sledge was recounted in the narrative and illustrated with several images, such as 'Our Last Camp Before Parting from Our Comrades (From a Photograph)'.¹¹ The image depicts men that are focused on the work of packing the sledge and tending to the dogs, showing the teamwork and labour involved in preparing Nansen and Johansen for their journey. The mood as described in the narrative had been optimistic but melancholic. Nansen reported that he had cautioned Johansen against setting out on the dog sledge journey with him, and 'expatiated on the difficulties that might occur, and laid strong emphasis on the dangers one must be prepared to encounter'. Mirroring the language used by the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* and at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in 1892, Nansen recounted that he told Johansen that 'It was a serious matter—a matter of life or death'.¹² The visual material worked to further help set the mood for the reader, as with the illustrations 'Incredibly Slow Progress' and 'It Gazed Wickedly at Us'.¹³

Yet, while many illustrations documented their hardships, Nansen also used images to show that this mode of travel was possible and relatively safe, both while drifting through the ice in the *Fram*, and while travelling with dog sledge and kayak. Images such as 'A Laughing Photographer' both documented the size of their photographic equipment, and the friendly and positive mood of the crew and visitors to the ship.¹⁴ Nansen also evoked the tropes of the Arctic sublime to further set the stage in his narrative. The illustration 'Kveldstemning ud for Sibiriens Nordkyst', which was included in



the Norwegian edition, captures the view of a calm sea as the *Fram* sailed past Siberia.¹⁵ With ice steadily flowing as the sun set, the viewer is invited to think of the Arctic not only as a place of danger, but as a place of spiritual and personal development. The coloured illustrations in the Norwegian and some of the English editions promoted a view of the Arctic that was both of danger and sublime beauty.

The images used in *Farthest North*, as in *Fram over Polhavet*, were not only intended to document the expedition but also to create a particular representation of the Arctic and of Nansen that aligned with contemporary European ideals of exploration, masculinity, and heroism. Together, the images and text told a story of how Nansen and his crew had acknowledged the inherent dangers of the venture, and overcame it not only with bravery and strength, but also through their attention, scientific and technological research, and advances in equipment.



THE *FRAM* IN THE KARA SEA.
(By Otto Sinding.)

PHOTOGRAPHY AS EVIDENCE

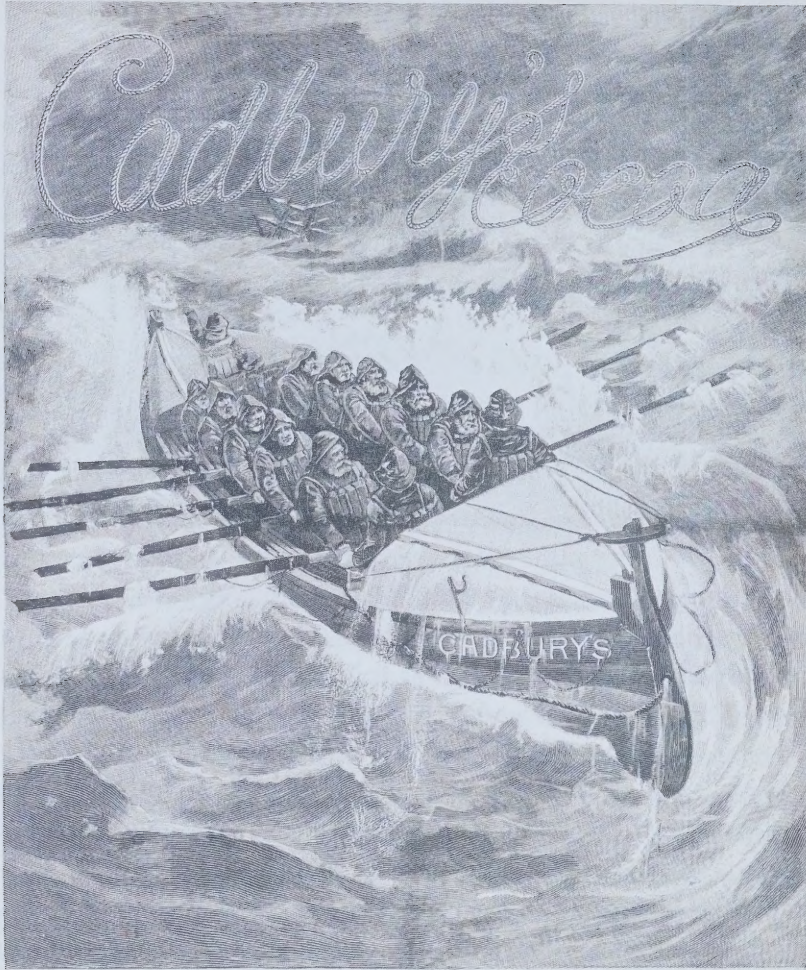
The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed significant advances in photographic technology. Cameras became smaller and easier to travel with, the time it took to take a photograph decreased, and the processes for preparing and storing photographic plates simplified. The photographic equipment Nansen brought to the Arctic reflected the cutting-edge technology of the time. The *Fram* expedition brought seven cameras with them, including large-format cameras and smaller portable models. Nansen, aware of the growing importance of visual documentation in exploration, meticulously prepared his expedition for using photography. In doing so, he was drawing on a long tradition of visual documentation of exploration, as well as the more recent inclusion of photography in the repertoire of explorers.

The introduction of photography into scientific research was not straightforward. In part, this had to do with the practice of natural history,

where the usefulness of an illustration was not necessarily based on its direct representation of a specific unique specimen, but rather on its ability to represent the expected or idealized aspects of the species that the specimen belonged to.¹⁶ From that perspective, the photographic representation of a natural history specimen was not necessarily more useful in scientific research. This is also evident in *Farthest North*, which included several traditional hand-drawn natural history illustrations that depicted type-specimens such as 'Plant fossils' in addition to illustrations based on photographs of individual plants, animals, and rock formations, such as 'A Strange Rock of Basalt'.¹⁷

At the same time, photography seemed to offer something that hand-drawn illustrations could not, documenting nature without the influence of an artist's subjectivity. In seemingly removing the subjectivity of the artist, it was the camera that took the picture, with the result claiming to represent an objective representation of reality.¹⁸ And yet, it was possible to edit and manipulate photographs after they were taken, and the photographer could be selective in what they documented.¹⁹ Photographs were also not necessarily accepted as objective or useful scientifically, simply because they were photographs. As Jennifer Tucker argues, what made photographs scientific 'was often based on such considerations as how they were made and by whom and where they were exhibited, as is still the case today'.²⁰ Just as with the processes of making photographs scientific, so was the veracity of the claims made by Arctic explorers closely tied to their personal identities.

The enduring relationship between the identity of the person who produced the visual material and the perceived trustworthiness of the images is particularly useful to consider when examining the visual archives of Arctic expeditions. As a type of virtual witnessing—to borrow the term from Simon Schaffer and Steven Shapin²¹—the usefulness of the travel narratives was dependent on the perception of the explorers as trustworthy and direct observers of Arctic phenomena. The format of the travel narrative supported the assertion that explorers reported what they saw, nothing more and nothing less, and that this made their accounts trustworthy and scientific. As



STRENGTH, VIGOUR, AND PLUCK!

CADBURY'S COCOA is world-renowned for its absolute purity, and its strengthening and sustaining properties, the Medical Profession and all expert judges according it unstinted praise. The highest compliments have been paid to it; and NANSEN and JACKSON had Chocolate of CADBURY'S manufacture for their famous Polar Expeditions.

CADBURY'S COCOA is Absolutely Pure, and a "PERFECT FOOD."

Nansen stated in an interview with *The Strand Magazine*, his scientific work 'consisted of exact observations' and he hoped their 'expedition will enrich the records of astronomy, geology, botany, and kindred subjects'.²²

Extending a pattern seen in Arctic voyaging publications before the introduction of photography, Nansen included several images of the crew undertaking scientific research in *Farthest North*, such as 'A Chronometer Observation with Theodolite (From a Photograph)'.²³ In this full-page illustration we see Johansen and Scott-Hansen (1868–1937) focused on their research. Here, the photographic origin of the image together with the depiction of science in action worked to underscore the disciplined research practices of the crew, and the truthfulness of the account. It also highlights that truthfulness and authenticity were constructed.

The fluidity of the boundary between art and science, illustration and photography, is further evident in the form of illustration called woodcuts 'from a photograph'. Woodcuts based on photographs were a cheaper mode of reproducing photographs on a grand scale. The designator referred to the existence of a source photograph with all that implied about authenticity. Yet, as with the photographs, the authority of the woodcuts did not simply rest with their mechanical origin. Rather, it was a holistic construction of visual narratives that was composed of an interplay between text, image, its source, and use.²⁴ In *Farthest North*, several of the full-page illustrations were based on photographs, and named the non-expedition artist who rendered the version that appeared in the text. These included noted Norwegian artists such as August Eiebakke (1867–1938), Otto Sinding (1842–1909), and Halfdan Egedius (1877–1899). The full-page illustration 'Fram in the Kara Sea', which depicted the ship traversing a heavy storm among small icebergs, was made by Sinding based on a photograph.²⁵ The choice to have known young Norwegian artists produce the images highlights the lack of a clear division between painting and photography; between what was produced *in situ*, and what was interpreted or made after the fact. Nansen was known to have had certain events reenacted for the camera. For example, the famous photograph of the first encounter between Nansen and the explorer

Frederick George Jackson (1860–1938) in 1896 was taken several hours after they met.²⁶ Several other popular images of Nansen and his crew members were based on photographs taken in a studio that reenacted events while wearing their full Arctic costumes.²⁷ As with the hand-drawn illustrations, the perceived authenticity and usefulness of expedition photographs had just as much to do with its subject and the context it was used, as it did its origin.

CONSTRUCTING POLAR IDENTITIES

The perception that travel narratives were a frank day-to-day account of the experiences of travellers, their exact and direct observations, was in many ways, an illusion created by careful editorial work and selective recounting of events. Likewise, the images produced by expeditions were part of this construction of authority and trust, just as the value of the visuality as evidence was linked to the identity and circumstances of the creator. As the text was edited, so was the visual archive of expeditions made and curated to portray explorers and their experiences in a favourable light. For the *Fram* expedition, the visual archive was important for framing the venture, especially as Nansen's proposed new route and method for travel had not resulted in them reaching the North Pole. Despite these shortcomings, Nansen wanted to ensure that his vision for Arctic exploration was still seen as successful. Although Nansen was celebrated as a Norwegian national hero and within scientific societies internationally, it is worth emphasizing the link between the positive reactions and Nansen's careful curation of his image.

The photographs taken during the journey were not merely illustrations. They were integral to constructing Nansen's identity as an explorer, providing evidence of the expedition's achievements, supporting scientific research, engaging and entertaining the public, and upholding specific European visions of the Arctic. The images from the expedition were reproduced extensively in the press and across multiple national contexts. At the time when Nansen was testing his new method for reaching the pole, others were also trying to get there first. Notably, the American explorers Robert Peary



"I WENT ON AHEAD ON SNOWSHOES."

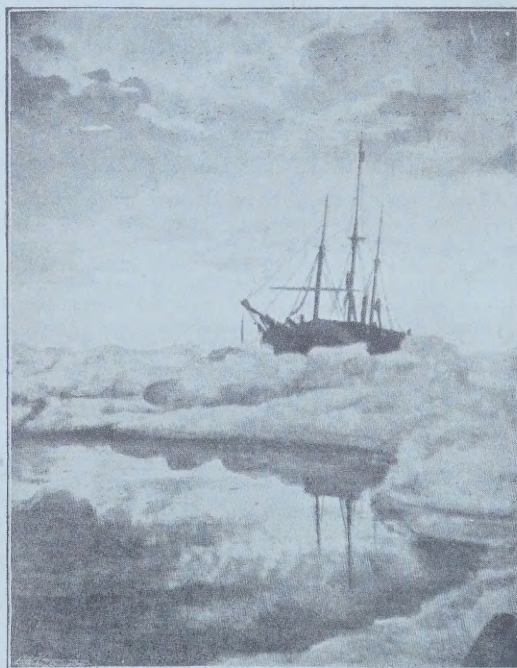


NANSEN'S "FARTHEST NORTH."

TO BE
COMPLETED
IN
20 PARTS.

Part
4

Over
200
Illustrations



ISSUED
FORTNIGHTLY

6^{d.}
Net.

A
Two Guinea
Work for
TEN
Shillings

Published by
GEORGE NEWNES, Ltd.,
8-12, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.

By Arrangement with
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
and Company, Westminster.

CHAPPELL & CO.'S NEW HIGH CLASS ENGLISH **PIANOS,**
50, NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W. [See page facing last matter.]

(1856–1920) and Frederick Cook (1865–1940) attempted to reach this farthest north, both together and separately.

Peary and Cook had competing priority claims for reaching the North Pole, and photography again was central in the way they rallied support for the expeditions and their claims to geographical primacy. For example, the *Illustrated London News* published a full-page image from Peary's expedition entitled 'The First Photograph at the North Pole' supposedly taken 'the day of his arrival at the north pole'.²⁸ The image shows the American flag, planted on top of a picturesque ice formation. Nothing about the subject of Peary's photograph in and of itself shows that it is the North Pole; it could have been taken anywhere in the Arctic, but it still shows the power of photography in supporting the claims of the explorers. Similarly, the illustration 'I Went on Ahead on Snowshoes' shows Nansen standing in a triumphant pose against the snow and ice, as he sought to make the furthest north reached by the expedition.²⁹

In addition to furthering his expedition's aims in the press, Nansen's image as a daring explorer, as a man of both sport and science was used to sell a range of products. In 1899, Cadbury ran a campaign in the illustrated papers that depicted a small boat called 'Cadbury's' with thirteen men fighting to keep going in a severe storm. With the tagline 'strength, vigour, and pluck', the advertisement named Nansen as having used Cadbury during his Polar expedition.³⁰ Although the men in the image are not explicitly named as Nansen and his crew, the depicted boat includes thirteen men, the number in Nansen's *Fram* expedition. In addition to Cadbury, the Nansen name and image was used to promote numerous goods, including a Nansen Brand of tinned fish made by the Bjelland company.³¹ While not necessarily direct reproductions of Nansen's photographs or illustrations, the motif on these commercial objects was recognizable: heroic men engaged in dangerous physical activity, against a frozen background, or the stormy sea.

The use of photography during the *Fram* expedition illustrates the complex roles that different forms of visualization played in the race towards the North Pole, and how these images continue to influence our understanding of the past today. It reminds us that the visual, as well as textual, rhetoric of heroism and (white) masculinity was a highly curated construct that did not reflect the lived experiences of the travellers in a straightforward way. The technological advancements in photography at the time, combined with Nansen's strategic use of images, helped to create a compelling, and highly curated, narrative of the *Fram* expedition that has endured in the public imagination.

- 1 In 1897, editions were published in Oslo by H. Aschehoug; in London by Archibald Constable and Company and Macmillan; in Leipzig by F.A. Brockhaus; and in New York by Harper & Brothers. The edition used here is Fridtjof Nansen, *Farthest North; Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship Fram 1893–96 and of a Fifteen Months' Sleigh Journey* (London: George Newnes Limited, 1898).
- 2 Fridtjof Nansen, *The First Crossing of Greenland* (London: Spottiswood, 1890).
- 3 As quoted in Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 1: 14.
- 4 Fridtjof Nansen, "How Can the North Polar Region Be Crossed?," *The Geographical Journal* 1, no. 1 (January 1893): 1–32.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 7 A.W. Greely, "Polar Probabilities of 1894," *The North American Review* 157, no. 3 (1893): 293.
- 8 "Geographical Notes," *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 6, no. 7 (August 1890): 386–7.
- 9 Nares, as quoted in "The Nansen Meeting in the Albert Hall," *The Geographical Journal* 9, no. 3 (1897): 249–56; 252–3.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 252–253.
- 11 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 2:9.
- 12 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 1:395.
- 13 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 2:141, 201.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 432.
- 15 Nansen, *Fram over polhavet; den Norske polarfærd 1893–1896* (Kristiania: H. Aschehoug, 1897), 176.
- 16 Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 7.
- 17 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 2:302, 300.
- 18 Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 187.
- 19 Eavan O'Dochartaigh, *Visual Culture and Arctic Voyages: Personal and Public Art and Literature of the Franklin Search Expeditions* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2022). See her essay in this catalogue.
- 20 Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 7.
- 21 Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).
- 22 J. Arthur Bain, "A Talk with Dr. Nansen," *The Strand Magazine* 12 (1896): 700.
- 23 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 1:203.
- 24 Geoffrey Belknap, *From a Photograph: Authenticity, Science, and the Periodical Press, 1870–1890* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 133.
- 25 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 1:111.
- 26 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 2:289.
- 27 Nora Høegh, "Keeping up Appearances: The Afterlife of Fridtjof Nansen's Studio Re-enactments," NiCHE: Network in Canadian History & Environment, March 12, 2024, <https://niche-canada.org/2024/03/12/the-afterlife-of-fridtjof-nansens-studio-re-enactments/>.
- 28 "The First Photograph at the North Pole," *Illustrated London News* 136, no. 3693 (January 29, 1910): 162–3.
- 29 Nansen, *Farthest North* (1898), 2:24.
- 30 "Cadbury's Cocoa," *Illustrated London News* 115, no. 3161 (November 18, 1899): 731.
- 31 Max Jones, 'Exploration, Celebrity, and the Making of a Transnational Hero,' *The Journal of Modern History* 93, no. 1 (2021), 68–108, doi:10.1086/712637.

Inuit Cosmopolitanism and Kalaallit Nunaat

BART PUSHAW

In the act of giving a full respiration, Ephraim's pants burst, the buttons flying all over the deck! Civilization buttons and New London-made pants could not stand against the sudden distention of an E—'s bowels after being once so unnaturally contracted.

—Charles Francis Hall, 1864¹

It has long been my innermost desire that a European who travels among us takes us Kalaallit seriously. But I have not wanted to reveal it to anyone unless I met someone who was serious about our welfare.

—Rasmus Berthelsen (Kalaaleq), 1864²

Charles Francis Hall had made it clear that the pants were too small. Soaked by the sea, Ephraim was eager to change into clean, dry clothes. Though he 'nimply plied his fingers' to button the pants, it was to no avail. The buttons snapped. Hall does not share what Ephraim did afterwards. Did Ephraim laugh? Was he frustrated? Was he able to change into dry clothes? The readers of Hall's Arctic memoir never glean such insights into Ephraim's feelings. But Hall does make sure to racialize the scene for his readers. If the pants did not fit Ephraim, it was not because they were already the wrong size, but rather because they were tailored pants fashioned in the Connecticut port city of New London. 'Civilization buttons', Hall claims, cannot fit Ephraim's waist because he is Kalaaleq. That buttons can somehow function as

conduits of racial hierarchies ('civilization') reveals how casual anti-Indigenous racism truly was in the nineteenth century. In the first decades of that century, fashionable Kalaallit did, in fact, already embellish their sealskin pants with brilliant buttons.³ But the issue was never really about buttons. As a white American travelling to Kalaallit Nunaat for the first time in the 1860s, Hall was already primed to treat any experience with Kalaallit, no matter how banal, as a surprise to or as a reaffirmation of his racial prejudice. It is little wonder, then, that Rasmus Berthelsen writes with such exasperation for his fellow Kalaallit to be taken seriously.

This anti-Inuit racism was in part the product of environmental determinism, an influential pseudo-scientific theory that claimed that one's climate and physical geography facilitated or limited a culture's achievement. Repeatedly throughout the nineteenth century and well before, Eurocentric thinking juxtaposed the poles and the equator as climate 'extremes', which inherently incapacitated the development of its inhabitants. Warm, tropical climates produced slovenly people, made lazy by the abundance around them, whereas frozen climates like the Arctic were barren deserts of ice where people could only ever eke out a meagre existence. As Jen Rose Smith (dAXunhyuu) argues, ice itself troubled Eurocentric categories that demanded agricultural reproduction within the extractive logics of colonial expansion.⁴ It is for this reason that Eurocentric narratives of nineteenth-century Arctic voyages are typically so self-aggrandizing. Time and again, ice resisted colonial conquest, yet constant failure enticed Europeans to embark, with obsessive desire, on seemingly endless attempts to navigate through it nonetheless. For this reason, 'polar print culture' often references the act of outsiders—ostensible explorers—producing their own media on voyaging ships *despite* climatic conditions. Inuit appear sporadically in such expedition narratives. Inimitable guides, Inuit of expedition narratives merit value in these narratives to the extent they facilitate European and Euro-American aims. The paradox at the heart of almost all Eurocentric Arctic narratives of the nineteenth century is that authors depended upon the expertise and



GREENLAND WOMAN AND CHILD.
[Fac-simile of a wood-cut executed by an Esquimaux.]

cultural knowledge of Inuit while deriding their culture at any and every turn. As one European surmised in 1862, 'Greenland is about the last place in the world where an amateur would look for evidence of artistic talent'.⁵

Inuit were never isolated from the wider world. In fact, they were keenly aware of the contempt that theories like environmental determinism harboured about them in the period. In a letter, Berthelsen reveals, 'It is with a heavy, sad heart that I have heard *many* who have said that Kalaallit have no understanding and consequently that they cannot learn anything. But it is precisely those people who say as much who are uneducated... They say that Kalaallit are viewed as animals in Denmark and, consequently, no one has any interest for them there. And these people are the ones employed by the trade monopoly to work and advance the welfare of the Natives'.⁶ Writing more than a century after the colonization of Kalaallit Nunaat by Denmark in 1721, a thirty-six-year-old Berthelsen was tired of the inequitable system that continually brought Europeans into prominent—yet temporary—official roles in the colonial administration across the country. This constant cycle of inexperienced missionaries and merchants long stymied Indigenous self-determination in the political realm. Instead, Kalaallit turned to cultural spheres.

In the 1850s and 1860s, Kalaallit embraced the power of the printing press, creating new narratives in image and text that circulated internationally. In doing so, a generation of Kalaallit were deliberately intervening into racialized discourses about Arctic Indigeneity. At the time, there were only two presses in the country: one was a small press brought by the Moravian missionary Jesper Brodersen to Noorliit in the 1790s, the other newly shipped to Nuuk in 1857. Rasmus Berthelsen was at the helm of the Nuuk printing press. He was one of the best educated Kalaallit of his generation, schooled by Indigenous catechists as well as European priests and missionaries and a brief educational sojourn in Denmark. His desire for learning kindled a passion to become a teacher, making him a compelling candidate when a colonial administrator was looking for assistants to produce the first texts and books on Kalaallit lands and for Kalaallit audiences.

The Nuuk printing press is most famous for the production of the first Kalaallisut-language newspaper, *Atuagagdliutit*, which began circulating among readers in 1861. A year earlier, however, Rasmus Berthelsen and his apprentice Lars Aqqaluk Møller produced a book more pictorial in its content and directed at international audiences: *Kaladlit assiliaiiait*,⁷ or as its English subtitle read, *Woodcuts, Drawn and Engraved by Greenlanders*. The album featured thirty-nine woodcuts by five known Indigenous artists: Rasmus Berthelsen, Aalut Kangermiu, Abraham Kangermiu, Jens Kreutzmann, and Markus Lynge. Their images ranged in subject matter from portraits of contemporary individuals and images of everyday life, to scenes of colonial history, and, most famously, depictions of the mytho-historical encounter between Kalaallit and medieval Norse settlers.

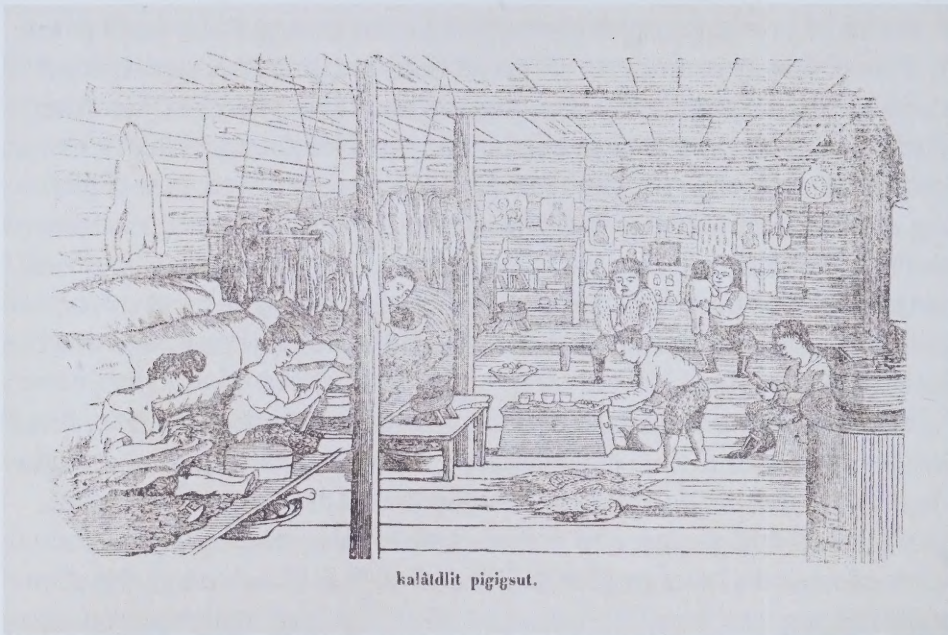
One of the images included in *Kalaallit assiliaiiait* appeared as a reproduction in Charles Francis Hall's 1864 memoir of his experience on Inuit homelands. In his text, Hall describes the reproduction as a 'fac-simile of a wood-cut executed by an [Inuk]'.⁸ We know that Hall must have sourced the image from *Kalaallit assiliaiiait* because of the precise language he copies in the description afterwards, claiming the artwork was by 'a Greenlander named Aaron, living near Goodhaab [sic], who has received no education better than the generality than his countrymen'.⁹ This description of 'Aaron' was taken, nearly verbatim, from the English translation of the introduction of *Kalaallit assiliaiiait*, which framed the pictorial album as follows:

These woodcuts are the results of experiments undertaken in 1858 to 1860 to test the natural capabilities of the Greenlanders for this branch of art. The whole have been engraved, and with the exception of numbers one through eight, composed and drawn without assistance by five or six Natives of Greenland, the necessary wood and instruments having been lent them. The best of these woodcuts are the production of a Greenlander named Aron, living near Godthaab [Nuuk], who has received no better education than the generality of his countrymen.¹⁰

It is tempting to want to interrogate the scientific framing of art-making here. If artworks are 'experiments' that reveal 'natural capabilities'—a racialized concept—are Kalaallit artists 'test subjects'? But here I want to draw attention to another misleading yet overlooked part of this original text: it names only 'Aron' (Aalut Kangermiu, or 'Aaron' as Hall writes it), while anonymizing all other contributing artists. This source, in turn, led Hall to attribute the artwork he reproduced in his volume to Aalut/Aaron. If we look closely at the image, however, we can see that in the bottom right-hand corner, an artist has carved the initials 'RB'. The artist of this specific image was Rasmus Berthelsen.

In all editions of *Kalaallit assiliaiit*, viewers encountered the same first images in the album: two contemporary portraits by Berthelsen. Both images depict young Kalaallit women in stunning kalaallisuut, customary regalia. Out of all the images featured in the original album, these two portraits were perhaps the most cited and reproduced. They are also arguably the most famous, with many reproductions framed and adorning the walls of Kalaallit households throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the Kalaallisut versions of the album, Berthelsen titles the first image of a standing woman 'niviarsiaq nuummioq', literally 'a young woman from Nuuk', while the second image of a seated woman with a young child is 'nuliaq nuummioq', or 'a married woman from Nuuk'. As city dwellers, both women engaged in complex self-fashioning and their ornate sartorial choices reflected the cosmopolitan character of Nuuk at the time. Lost in these monochrome versions, but visible in extant colored versions, is the significance of ribbons. Kalaallit women coloured the ribbons of their topknots and the ribbons dangling at their thighs to indicate social significance about age, gender, and marital status—a cultural practice inherited from Moravian missions.¹¹

Nuuk was originally the site of Dano-Norwegian missions in the eighteenth century, but Moravian missions, increasingly popular among Kalaallit in the 1850s and 1860s, ran parallel at many nearby sites in Noorliit, Kangeq,



and Uummannaq.¹² Regardless of mission affiliation, Kalaallit women in particular adapted Moravian ideas about gender and social organization into their sartorial style.¹³ But the newest element—the most avant-garde, one might say—was the incorporation of glass beads into women's kalaallisuit. In the image of the seated woman, we can see these beads, colonial trade goods, dangling from the bottom of her amaat. The beads are looped in ovular shapes, resting at the top of the woman's thighs. Today, kalaallisuit are distinctive for the elaborate beaded collars (Kalaallisut: *nipinngasut*, Danish: *perlekraver*) women painstakingly craft and proudly wear. Rosannguaq Rossen (Kalaaleq) has done critical research to trace the history of these beaded collars specifically to Nuuk in the late 1850s and early 1860s, which is to say, precisely the time Berthelsen created these portraits. Rossen's research helps elucidate what we are looking at in Berthelsen's images. Not simply portrayals of women in costume, the portraits visualize Kalaallit women at the height of fashion in the colonial era.

Aalut Kangermiu (Aron of Kangeq), 'Kalâdliit pigigsut' ('Wealthy Kalaallit'), from *Atuagagdliutit* issue 48, 6 April 1865. The woodcut was originally printed in *Kalaallit assiliait* (1860).

As much as the style of these Nuummiut reflects change, this clothing also reflects continuity. Even in Hall's reproduction of Berthelsen's print, we can see the artist's interest in texture. This aesthetic impulse manifests most markedly in the stippling of thin lines that comprise the coarse fur of the woman's *amaat*. This could be sealskin, but the absence of mottled patterns or color variation leads me to think it might instead be caribou. If so, it would be a particularly meaningful connection for Berthelsen. In his biography, he recounted, 'my mother, who has now passed, once told me that I was born swaddled in caribou skin, and in order keep me from freezing to death, they made a kind of tent in the *umiaq*—I was born en route to a caribou hunt [*aavarneq*]'.¹⁴ Tuttut, caribou relatives, had already given themselves to Berthelsen's family, ensuring a safe and warm welcome into the world for the infant. That the family was already traveling by boat to summertime hunting grounds in search of caribou seemed to predetermine a young Berthelsen's connection to his *tuttu* kin. Even throughout his childhood, he was clad solely in caribou skins, sometimes in double layers, with a distinct memory of how 'the hairs faced inward, toward [his] bare body'.¹⁵ This affective memory, the feeling of warm fur brushing against skin, connected Berthelsen to his childhood, to memories of being on the land with his family, and more broadly to how his ancestors maintained reciprocity with *tuttu* relatives.

Read in concert with the artist's biography, then, the textures Berthelsen renders in his print appear awash in nostalgic referent, as if the artist honors his own mother while he honors the young subject of his print. That Berthelsen took the time and effort to render this sitter's *kalaallisuut* in such resplendent detail already honors the intergenerational knowledge of creating these garments. And yet, this family also brings *Kalaallit* culture into the future. The mother embellishes her *amaat* with contemporary colonial references to the cultures of Moravian missions. Moreover, she anticipates early forerunners to what will become a constituent element of *Kalaallit* regalia in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries: an abundance of beautiful beads.

Rarely does this rich, complex history of Kalaallit colonial culture appear in Arctic expedition narratives, let alone in scholarly consideration since the nineteenth century. And yet, portraits of Kalaallit by Kalaallit artists—indeed, contemporary Inuit artworks—do, literally, appear in these narratives, reproduced in the middle of Charles Francis Hall's influential and widely-read book. In the cover material to that book, Hall's publishers make sure to credit the numerous artists who provided illustrations to the text. Although Hall misattributes Berthelsen's print to Aalut Kangermiu in the text, there are no Inuit artists formally listed, only white Americans. Inuit artwork merits inclusion when it adds a degree of authenticity and cold exoticism to outsider storytelling about the Arctic. Berthelsen—indeed almost all Kalaallit—already knew why this was the case: Europeans and white North Americans would never take them seriously. And yet, when we look closely at Berthelsen's artworks, when we read his writings, his reflections, and his pleas, we begin to catch a glimpse of a different kind of Arctic fever, one that is passionate about Indigenous self-determination, where Arctic voyages are to aassiviit, to embark on aavarneq, to gather ammassat, and feast on kiviaq. There, ice is not a hindrance—it is the very reason for abundance.

1 Charles Francis Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux* (London: S. Low, Son and Marston, 1864), 34.

2 Translated from Rasmus Berthelsen, 'Rasmus Berthelsens levnetsbeskrivelse', in Emil Bluhm, *Fr. et ophold i Grønland, 1863-1864* (Copenhagen: Fr. Woldikes Forlags-Expedition, 1864), 260. Original text: 'Det Ønske, at en Europæer, som færdes iblandt os, vil tage alvorligen af Grønlænderne, har længe været i mig; jeg har ikke villet aabenbare det til nogen, førend jeg træffer Een der har en alvorlig Interesse for Grønlændernes Velvære.'

3 Note, for instance, the dapper clothing of caribou hunters of Israil Gormansen's paintings at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen.

4 Jen Rose Smith, *Ice Geographies: The Colonial Politics of Race and Indigeneity in the Arctic* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2025).

5 "The Fine Arts in Greenland," *The Bookseller* 54 (June 30, 1862): 388-9.

6 Translated from Berthelsen, 261, emphasis in original. Original text: 'Jeg med tungt og bedrøvet Hjerte har hørt som Flere, der sagde, at Grønlænderne har ingen Forstand, og følgerlig deraf, at de ikke kan lære noget. De var netop de Folk der sige saaledes, var selv ulærde Folk [...] Ja, endog have de sagt: at Grønlænderne ansees af Folk i Danmark som Dyr, og følgerlig deraf, at der ingen vil interessere sig for dem. Og disse Folk ere af den Monopol-Handel ansatte til at arbeide og forfremme Velfærden iblandt de Infødte.'

7 Hereafter referred to as *Kalaallit assilialiait* to reflect modern orthography.

8 Hall, 54-55.

9 Ibid.

10 Rasmus Berthelsen and Lars Aqqaluk Møller, *Kaladlit assilialiait, or, Woodcuts, Drawn and Engraved by Greenlanders* (Nuuk: Nalagkap Nongmitup Nakitirifik, 1860).

11 Red communicated childhood, burgundy for adolescence, pink eligibility for marriage, blue for married, and black for widows.

12 On Moravian missions in Kalaallit Nunaat, see Kirstine Eiby Møller, "Colonial Encounters: Continuity and Change in the Meeting Between Inuit and the Moravian Brethren in Colonial Greenland" (PhD diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland and Ilisimatusarfik: St. John's, NL and Nuuk, expected 2025).

13 For more on the history of kalaallisuut, see Rosannguaq Rossen, "Branding igennem moden: Den vestgrønlandske kvinnedragt som symbol" (PhD diss., Ilisimatusarfik: Nuuk, 2020).

14 Translated from Berthelsen, 255. Original text: "Min salig Moder fortalte mig, at jeg blev indsvøbt i et Rensskind, og for jeg ikke skulde fryse ihjel, lavede man et Slags Telt i Konebaaden; det var jo paa Opveien til Rensjagt jeg blev født."

15 Ibid.

The Snow Baby, or, Naturalizing Colonial Extraction Through Children's Literature

INGEBORG HØVIK

Published in 1901, *The Snow Baby: A True Story with True Pictures* was the first of two children's books emerging from Robert E. Peary's (1856–1920) notorious exploits in Northwest Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹ Authored by his famous explorer wife, Josephine D. Peary (1863–1955), *The Snow Baby* narrates Arctic scenes from the first four years of their daughter Marie's (1893–1978) life. In this period, Marie and Josephine had two stays in Kalaallit Nunaat. They also brought back an Inughuit girl, Eqariusaq² (born c. 1881), whom they called 'Miss Bill' and 'Billy-Bah', to live with them for a year in the United States. In doing so, they participated in what was a rather common practice of Arctic exploration: the extraction of Indigenous bodies to Europe and the United States to satisfy a racialized curiosity under the auspices of science, instruction, or civilizing missions.³ In fact, Eqariusaq was the first of seven Inughuit whom the Peary took to the United States between 1894 and 1897—and one of only two survivors of that experience.

Richly illustrated with reproductions of black-and-white photographs showing interactions with Inughuit, Arctic animals, landscapes, the expedition vessel, and explorers, *The Snow Baby* recounts Marie's and Eqariusaq's encounters with the other's culture and environment. Following a typical, centuries-long, pattern of exploration and European contact with Indigenous peoples, a central feature in the narrative of these cross-cultural meetings is

THE SNOW BABY



"The Great Brown Woman"

where he found a great piece of brown iron which many years ago had fallen from the sky and from which the Eskimos had made their knives.

The Eskimos called this piece of iron a woman, because their great-grandfathers had told them that *their* great-grandfathers had said that when it first fell from the sky it looked like a great brown woman. Now so much of it had been pounded off for knives that its shape was gone, but the Eskimos believed that the spirit of the woman still remained. Near by was a smaller

THE SNOW BABY



"Were hauled over Rocks and Snow"

piece of iron which had been her dog somewhere up among the stars.

These great pieces of iron were so wonderful that AH-NI-GHI'-TO'S father thought he would like to take them back to America, where every one might see them; so when the ship came back after him the brown woman and her dog were hauled over the rocks and snow and ice to the ship, and



"A Smaller Piece which had been her Dog"

the notion of gifting. Through exchanges of clothes, utensils, and toys, the Pearys and Inughuit women and children show their friendly intention and care towards one another. At the same time, the author's ethnocentric and racialized language establishes an unsettling disparity between the (female) explorers and the Indigenous people that further questions the nature and function of the gift exchange motif.

This essay takes the illustration of a meteorite among rocks, captioned 'The Great Brown Woman', as the starting point for a postcolonial, art historical analysis of *The Snow Baby*.⁴ Critically examining Josephine Peary's moral lessons on Arctic exploration and exchange, I argue that her notion of gifting (through text and image) functioned to naturalize the colonial extraction of Indigenous bodies, labour, and natural resources for American children.

Featured more than halfway into the book, this hard-to-read illustration shows a ground of rocks in a gentle upward-sloping hill. What draws our attention is the large rock in the centre of the composition. A vertical pole is placed up against it and, as the only clear sign of human intervention, this measuring stick (or the shaft of a shovel?) affirms the centrality of the large rock. The caption helps to arouse our interest. This rounded and horizontally oriented rock is called 'The Great Brown Woman' and the photo is the first in a series of three illustrating a significant high point in Josephine Peary's narrative: Robert Peary's discovery and removal of three meteorites to the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

Communicating the demanding labour involved in transporting the meteorites to the ship, the second illustration, 'Were Hauled Over Rocks and Snow', shows American explorers and Inughuit hunters pulling one of the meteorites on a sled through a snow-covered ground below a bare, rocky hill. The third illustration, 'A Smaller Piece Which Had Been Her Dog', is a close-up photograph of a field of rocks, where a rounded, black rock featured in the centre of the composition is likely the meteorite referred to in the caption. The caption, like that for 'The Great Brown Woman', points to the meteorites' place in Inughuit cosmology and both tie the illustrations to the book's broader narrative and theme of unequal cross-cultural exchange.

This cross-cultural theme is introduced at the book's outset when, situated in the Pearys' Arctic home, Josephine receives a group of Inughuit visitors presenting hand-crafted skin and fur clothes to her newborn daughter Marie.⁵ If the gifting of such practical and cherished items in the high Arctic climate points to the social virtues of the Inughuit characters in Josephine's narrative, the author quickly assures the reader of their inferiority. This happens through the author's use of contrasts and repeated reminders of race/colour differences. Demonstrating that the house into which her 'snow white' baby with 'big blue eyes' has been born is the bastion of civilization, with its books, sewing machine, carpet, and pictures on the wall brought there from the United States, Josephine describes the Inughuit as 'strange', 'little', 'brown', 'dirty', 'wild', 'shaggy', and 'fat faced' 'Eskimos' living in snow houses and whose gendered difference was hard to distinguish.⁶ Seemingly obsessed with her child's skin colour (which grew 'whiter every day'⁷), Josephine mistakenly believes that the Inughuit's nickname for Marie (Ahnighito) means 'snow baby', while the actual meaning is 'small woman'.⁸ Likely, she also added the racial descriptor 'brown' to her translation of the Inughuit's name for the largest meteorite.

An important part of the narrative and theme of exchange is the contact with Eqariusaq, a young girl who looks after Josephine's baby. When first introduced, Eqariusaq is represented in a full-length, three-quarter portrait photograph captioned with the defeminizing nickname of 'Miss Bill' and the information that she 'never had a dress or a hat in her life, but dressed in a sealskin coat, short foxskin trousers, or nannookies, and long-legged kamiks, or sealskin boots'.⁹ To the young American reader it is thus clear that when Eqariusaq travels to the United States for a year, and learns to wash herself, dress like [an American] girl, and eat at a table, these civilizing 'gifts' are highly necessary. In the racialized language of Josephine Peary, the 'little dusky maiden... had everything to learn'.¹⁰ However, Eqariusaq does not retain these 'gifts' of civilization. Indeed, when Marie and Josephine return to visit the Inughuit four years later, they notice with regret that 'Miss Bill' has fallen back to so-called 'E—' practices.¹¹ Described as a letdown for Marie,

THE SNOW BABY



Ah-ni-ghi'-to and One of her Brown Fur-clad Friends

down to the ship, but refused to assist him in putting them on board.

While the work of getting the iron tent alongside the ship was going on, AH-NI-GHI'-TO had a merry time. After the sun shone again, the

Eqariusaq's return to her own cultural practice suggests the 'inability' of 'natives' to modernize.

The story of 'Miss Bill' functions as a rhetorical tool in Josephine's narration of the expedition's main exploit; the extraction of the meteorites from Inughuit land and use. Appropriating pieces of their oral history, Josephine presents an exciting so-called 'E— tale' that ends with the warning that the stones mean bad luck and should not be touched.¹² Framing the meteorites' place in Inughuit cosmology as superstition, she poses their story against the rational demands of science and progress.¹³ Effectively, she justifies the explorers' extraction of the stones and, building on the motif of gifting (the removal of something unwanted), she twists their theft into another exchange that benefits the Inughuit.

1 Robert Peary's ruthless exploitation of the Inughuit during his stays in Northwest Kalaallit Nunaat while obsessively trying to be the first to reach the North Pole has been well documented by scholars in Arctic studies. See for example: Kenn Harper, *Give Me My Father's Body: The Life of Minik the New York Eskimo* (Vermont: Steerforth Press, 2000); Lisa Bloom, *Gender on Ice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Lyle Dick, "Aboriginal-European Relations During the Great Age of North Polar Exploration," *Polar Geography* 26, no. 1 (2002): 66–86; Renée Hulan, "Alnayah's People: Archival Photographs from West Greenland, 1908–1909," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 25, no. 8 (2023): 1088–1109.

2 I am here using Kenn Harper's spelling of her name (Harper, 16). Josephine Peary writes the name as 'E-Klay-I-Shoo' (Josephine D. Peary, *The Snow Baby: A True Story with True Pictures* [New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1901]: 30).

3 See Ingeborg Høvik and Axel Jeremiassen, "Traces of an Arctic Voice: The Portrait of Qalaherriq," *Interventions* 25, no. 7 (2023): 975–1003; Linda Andersson Burnett, "The 'Lapland Giantess' in Britain: Reading Concurrences in a Victorian Ethnographic Exhibition," in *Concurrent Imaginaries, Postcolonial Worlds: Toward Revised Histories*, ed. Diana Brydon, Peter Forsgren, and Gunlög Fur (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Cathrine Baglo, *På Ville Veger? Levende Utstillinger av Samer i Europa og Amerika* (Oslo: Orkana akademisk, 2017); Rolf Gilberg, *Mennesket Minik (1888–1918)* (Espergærde: Ilbe, 1994).

4 For recent analyses of *The Snow Baby*, see Nanna K. L. Kaalund, "Ethnography as Racialised Womanhood in the Arctic Writings of Josephine Diebitsch-Peary," in *Communicating Ice through Popular Art and Aesthetics*, ed. Anne Hemkendreis and Anna-Sophie Jürgens (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2024): 87–103; Lena Aarekol, "The Snow Baby Books: Mediating Arctic Experiences to Children," in *The Arctic in Literature for Children and Young Adults*, ed. Heidi Hansson, Maria Leavenworth, and Anka Ryall (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2020): 57–70.

5 Peary, 16–18.

6 Peary, ('strange') 9, 11, 15, 16, 17; ('dirty' or unclean) 20, 22, 56; Peary applies the descriptors 'wild' and 'shaggy' to the dogs and Inughuit 16, 17; ('fat face') 30. For a discussion of the racist science Josephine Peary produced in her writings, see Kaalund, 87–103. For a situating of Josephine Peary within the history of female explorers to the Arctic and their domestication of Arctic space, see Silke Reeploeg, "Gendering Arctic Memory: Understanding the Legacy of Josephine Diebitsch-Peary," *Memory Studies* 14, no. 5 (October 2021): 1061–80, doi: 10.1177/1750698021102432.

7 Peary, 19.

8 Kenn Harper, "How to Steal a Meteorite," *Nunatsiaq News*, April 3, 2008, https://nunatsiaq.com/stories/article/How_to_Steal_a_Meteorite/.

9 Peary, 30–31.

10 Ibid., 40.

11 Ibid., 56.

12 Ibid., 58–67.

13 Ibid., 44–47.

In and about the Arctic: Entertainments and Ephemera

MARK A. CHEETHAM

Many factors motivated the proliferation of Arctic voyages from Britain, Europe, the Nordic countries, Russia, and the United States in the nineteenth century. Dominant motivations were national status in navigating a Northwest Passage, a Northeast Passage, or planting a flag at the north magnetic and geographical poles. Approximately three dozen missions searched for the Franklin expedition of 1845, which attempted the Northwest Passage, and whose ships have only recently been recovered. Then as now, economic and military priorities drove strategic national claims to sea and land in the Circumpolar North. Individual reputation, ego, and hubris also figured strongly, but so did the passion for discoveries in natural history, whether geographical, hydrological, meteorological, or ethnographic. Inuit were nomadic or semi-nomadic in the nineteenth century and travelled throughout their homelands for sustenance and what westerners think of as exploration.¹

The predominately maritime circumpolar Arctic was an area of constant mobility. In almost every example exhibited in *Arctic Fever*, we perceive an admixture of peoples, materials, and purposes, leaving audiences then and now to calibrate for themselves the ratios of narrative, science, and entertainment in a given publication, image, performance, or oral history. Arctic entertainments in the far north and in the home countries of voyagers purported to combine amusement and instruction. The proportions again depended on the context of both presentation and reception. In sum, the non-Indigenous sense of the Arctic, its peoples, topography, and import were formed through entertainments as much as in any other medium.²

Arctic relics and souvenirs were integral to the purposes of Arctic voyages, their aftermaths, and their attendant entertainments. They remain central in contemporary Arctic exhibitions. Macabre searches in the Arctic and subsequent heroization began with French attempts to find the lost 1788 expedition of La Pérouse, only discovered in 1826. Many artifacts originated with the Franklin expedition, initially found and repurposed by Inuit and traded, for example, to Hudson Bay Company employee Dr. John Rae in 1854. Items from Frobisher's three voyages to Baffin Island in 1576, 1577, and 1578 were salvaged and displayed by Charles Francis Hall in the 1860s. Eliding the distinctions among relic, souvenir, and entertainment are the stereograms of Captain Francis Leopold McClintock's definitive recovery of detritus from Franklin's crew's fatal march away from HMS *Erebus* and *Terror* after their captain's death in 1847, which McClintock's mission confirmed. Discovered in spring, 1859, by William Hobson, McClintock's lieutenant, these objects were prominently displayed in London and circulated not only in the popular *Illustrated London News* and *Harper's Weekly*, for example, but also in a remarkable set of stereograms photographed by Royal Navy Lieutenant John Powles Cheyne and offered for sale by subscription in 1860, as Anthony Hamber details in his essay. There was nothing innocent or simply reverential in any of these displays, least of all in the exploitative exhibition of Inuit alongside relics in the context of 'educational' lectures by Hall in 1862.³

The mid-nineteenth century previewed the 'new media' of today and its feverish adoption. The variety of Arctic entertainments and ephemera collected in *Arctic Fever* focuses our attention on media formats, technologies, and audiences, all of which were extraordinarily varied. On display are watercolour paintings such as those by Owen Stanley, engravings of several types, lithography, and early photography. The feverish interest in Arctic themes also manifested in an appetite for 'oramas', scenes presented in panoramas, dioramas, cycloramas, and cosmoramas (to name only the predominant formats). Magic lantern slides of Arctic themes were increasingly available to would-be lecturers. In these contexts of display, it is crucial to know where the entertainments took place, and when possible, the profile of the

When perils bid defiance
 To human skill and science,
 On *Him* be our reliance
 Who shed for us his blood!

SONG FROM THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE.

WRITTEN BY MR. WAKEHAM,
 AND SUNG BY MR. PALMER.

I.

FAREWELL to the land where the winter we've past,
 The ships all a-taunt-to, we leave it at last,
 While our bosoms are swelling
 For deeds of renown;
 Beneath their snug housing the cold we've defied,
 We've tripp'd for our health o'er the firm frozen tide,
 And merrily keeping up cheerfulness still,
 Eat our grub, drank our grog, with a hearty good will,
 While our bosoms were swelling
 For deeds of renown.

II.

'Tis said, when the sun in this region sinks low,
 The bears take a long nap—but we did not so,
 While our bosoms were swelling
 For deeds of renown;
 We had snow to be melted, ere dinner was drest,
 We had beer to be brew'd, and 'twas some of the best:—
 But what most I admired, while we wanted the light,
 Were the plays that amused us once a fort-night,
 While our bosoms were swelling
 For deeds of renown,

III.

Before it was dark in this desolate spot,
 The deer came around us, and died by our shot,
 While our bosoms were swelling
 For deeds of renown.
 With venison and beef, we cared not the least
 For the famed turtle soup of an alderman's feast;

R

audience. Many entertainments were created and enjoyed in the Arctic, usually aboard ships. Others presented the Arctic to mass audiences in large cities and frequently travelled to smaller venues. The distinction between *in* and *of* the Arctic, however, is fluid and indicative of the circulation of ideas, ships, personnel, and media.

IN THE ARCTIC: SERIOUS FUN

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Arctic voyagers from the Anglo-sphere (and some whalers) planned to overwinter in the far north rather than return to their home ports at the end of each short Arctic sailing season. Some of their stays were much longer than anticipated: John Ross's second voyage extended over four winters from 1829 to 1833. Because entertainment was essential to morale, ships carried printing presses (from 1848), musical instruments, and in the case of the many artistically-inclined officers aboard, watercolours. They brought and made theatrical costumes for the plays written and staged onboard. Entertainments of these sorts were lighthearted yet strategic examples of what Hester Blum memorably calls 'Polar Ecomedia'.⁴ The first Arctic newspaper, *The North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*, was edited by Edward Sabine aboard HMS *Hecla* and *Griper* under William Edward Parry. Originally handwritten, this and other examples such as the *Illustrated Arctic News* were later published in Britain, whether in typescript in the first example or as a facsimile in the second. Sabine prefaced the 1821 publication of *The North Georgia Gazette* by underlining the publication's initial role as mere amusement in the Arctic and then acknowledging the importance of circulating Arctic imagery and narratives in Britain.

Intertwined with performances—and, in their satirical and often critical bent, equally revealing of contemporary metropolitan attitudes towards the Arctic, Inuit, and the class hierarchies of naval expeditions—were the many plays composed, adapted, and performed in the Arctic. As Hester Blum details, playbills offer another record of media created in the Arctic.⁵ *Arctic Fever* also includes a rare image of a shipboard performance, replete



with costumed characters, sailors playing instruments in the centre, and Union Jacks as the backdrop on each side of the ship's confined hull. Lieutenant Owen Stanley's watercolour from December 1836 captures the merry tone of entertainments on HMS *Terror* under Capt. George Back as it was locked in the ice on its search for the Northwest Passage (see my essay on Stanley, above).

Another Arctic amusement was the creation of monumental snow sculptures, an obvious enough pastime given the crews' resources of snow and abundant time. As revealing of the evolving attitudes to the Arctic by its visitors in the nineteenth century as newspapers and plays, this practice has received almost no commentary. The massive snow sculptures erected on the ice by amateur artists are described textually and visually. Text and image, Arctic and metropolitan circulation are again brought endlessly remixed with reference to these monuments in the *Illustrated Arctic News* (IAN). This title mirrors and perhaps mocks the more serious *Illustrated London News* (ILN), the first illustrated newspaper (1842). The IAN was written, illustrated, and published in five numbers by the officers aboard HMS *Resolute* on a Franklin rescue mission in 1850–1851. Its jocular narratives,

poetry, and images were passed among the crews of the expeditionary ships and were published in facsimile edition with black and white and coloured lithographs of the handwritten text and plentiful intercalated pictures.

Commentators in the nineteenth century and since have claimed that words are inadequate to describe the Arctic, that only images can convey its qualities. But this outworn dichotomy belies constant collaboration of image and text that yields a third category in the 'iconotexts' of Arctic voyaging.⁶ In one vignette in the *IAN*, for example, a sailor addresses an ice sculpture of Britannia, suggesting impertinently that she will have an easy journey this winter, since she is beset in the ice: 'Oh! So you rule the waves—do you. Ah! A devilish easy berth of it you'll have this Winter'.⁷ Britannia appears calmly imperial, seated on a three-tiered pedestal, lion at her side. The text and image are by co-editor George F. McDougall, who also composed the prologue to *Charles II*, discussed by Blum above. McDougall emphasizes that the crew is working to sustain themselves in 'winter quarters' for Britannia, symbol of the nation. For the British, snow sculptures—like some of their plays—provided jingoistic amusement but also showed an imperial drift from the ephemeral to the permanent in monuments and, by analogy, the ongoing presence and increasing permanence of non-Indigenous people in the Arctic. Parry made this evolution clear in 1819: 'The ensigns and pendants were hoisted as soon as we had anchored, and it created in us no ordinary feelings of pleasure to see the British flag waving, for the first time, in these regions, which had hitherto been considered beyond the limits of the habitable part of the world'.⁸ We learn more about snow sculptures in *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search by the Officers and Seamen of the Expedition* (1852), an unusual voyaging publication for the time in that it was multi-authored and boasted about the different ranks, nationalities, and classes of the sailors taking part.

Arctic Miscellanies reproduced content from the monthly newspaper the *Aurora Borealis*, produced on Captain Austin's ship, HMS *Assistance*. In reading what happened to these ephemeral monuments, we also glean that snow sculptures were part of an elaborate artistic program aboard these



C. F. McD.

Oh! so you rule the waves — do you.

Ah! a devilish easy berth you'll have of it this Winter.

and other ships: 'the heat of the sun had made a sensible difference both on the ice and in the ravines. The splendid snow sculpture had disappeared: Britannia had dwindled into a little hummock, the bear was buried in drift, and the symmetrical vase had fallen from its pedestal; while the Observatory—a Pantheon in miniature—had sunk'. Yet 'these perishable works of art', the account continues, 'were about to be replaced by more durable monuments of our residence in the Arctic regions. On the summit of the south-east point of Griffith Island, ... [is] a magnificent view of Barrow's Straits, and the land to the eastward; and this spot was chosen as the site of a superb cairn, thirteen feet high, and about thirty feet in circumference, and surmounted by a lofty pole, to commemorate our wintering in the adjacent floe; while another of similar dimensions was erected on Cape Martyr'.⁹ Frobisher in the sixteenth century and William Parry in the early nineteenth century

imagined polar colonies. Cairns replaced snow sculptures. The British meant to return to the Arctic, and to stay.

Snow sculptures were part cultural fantasy, part harbinger of more concerted colonization of the circumpolar Arctic that came in the twentieth century. In *Stray Leaves: An Arctic Journal*, 1852, the naval officer Sherard Osborn writes of the construction of snow 'obelisks, sphinxes, vases, cannon, and, lastly, [that a] a stately Britannia, looking to the westward, enlivened the floe, and gave voluntary occupation to the crews of the vessels'.¹⁰ The illustrations and additional textual sources regarding the Britannia snow sculpture discussed above give credence to his description. But why imagine such a reconstruction if not to establish a cultural foothold in what was conceived as a barren Arctic? Obelisks especially were taken or recreated to mark national power in Paris (1830s) and Washington, DC (late 1840s). Even if they melted in a season, these monuments made a point in the Arctic.

At least one 'Egyptian' sculpture *was* fabricated in the Arctic. Four sailors from the second German North Polar Expedition of 1869–1870, led by Karl Koldewey and Friedrich Hegemann, are shown entertaining themselves by building what is identified in an illustration as a 'Snow Sphinx' as the crew of the *Hensa* drifted south along the east coast of Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland) on an ever-shrinking ice floe after their ship sank. In the Greek mythological tradition that named the winged sphinx adumbrated here, the part lion, part eagle, part woman posed a question to any traveller who would pass. It's not difficult to imagine the relevance to Arctic sailors seeking the North Pole, or perhaps the way back to Germany.¹¹ A renewed Egyptomania swept Europe after Napoleon's temporary victory over Egypt (1798–1801). Creating a sphinx in the Arctic can be construed as a conceit extending an 'orientalist' fantasy and the implied supremacy of contemporary Europe.

A DOMESTICATED ARCTIC

An instructive connection between entertainments largely made or performed in the Arctic and those seen in the voyagers' home countries is Scottish painter David Robert's playbill promoting his diorama, which

featured animated scenes from Parry's expedition to search for the Northwest Passage in 1821–1823. With the English painter Clarkson Frederick Stanfield, Roberts pioneered the large moving picture spectacles first presented in static form in Paris and London from 1822 by Louis Daguerre (soon to be known as the co-inventor of photography) and Charles Marie Bouton. The moving diorama touted here is akin to the panorama, which was initially a stationary circular canvas presented in a spherical darkened room, sometimes augmented by live music, special effects, and narration. It was soon followed by the moving panorama, which deployed illustrations on two rollers that scrolled past the viewer. Panoramas and their kin entertained and instructed many thousands of paying customers. Arctic themes were prevalent in what were, in their inclusive opticality and arrogation of knowledge, world views. Russell Potter details sixty on show between 1818 and 1883, noting that there were surely even more.¹² Popular spectacle traded on verisimilitude (and the willing suspension of disbelief), on endorsements by those voyagers with first-hand experience of the Arctic, the panorama's conveyance of the physical and cultural, and of course its entertainment value in the visual effects and social situation. The form was constantly evolving, with entrepreneurs freely cribbing from one another's images and textual accompaniments. The thirteen-scene sequence promised by Robert's document shows both the image-text collaboration typical of these visual extravaganzas and their creative relationship to the details of Arctic voyages. While 'The Total Loss of the *Fury*' near Melville Island warrants capital letters, patrons were not abandoned on this sublime but discouraging plane. The last scene imagines HMS *Hecla* in Japan, having successfully negotiated the Northwest Passage, which had for centuries been seen as the economically advantageous shortcut from Northern Europe to the Far East. No ship completed this route until Norwegian Roald Amundsen's journey in the *Gjøa*, 1903–1906.

The inventor of the panorama was Robert Barker. His first 360-degree painting was of Edinburgh, presented there in 1788 and in London the following year. In 1793 he opened 'The Panorama', a unique, purpose-built,



two-floor rotunda—near London's Leicester Square. His son, Henry Aston Barker, inherited the establishment and orchestrated the first extensive Arctic exhibition in panoramic form, 'The North Coast of Spitzbergen', on display in 1819–1820. We see a record of David Buchan's expedition to the North Pole via Spitsbergen (Svalbard), one of two ambitious Arctic journeys initiated by John Barrow and the British Admiralty in 1818. John Ross and William Edward Parry attempted to find the Northwest Passage; Buchan captained the *Dorothea* in search of the pole. His second-in-command in the *Trent* was John Franklin, of subsequent Arctic notoriety. The paintings and text were based on the firsthand observations of Lt. Frederick William Beechey.



The panoramic paintings have been lost, but we have the accompanying publication, complete with a detailed visual and narrative ‘explanation’ of the scene. While it was remarked at the time that such expansive—and to contemporary audiences, lifelike—scenes told more than any book could, in fact image and text invariably collaborated. The diagrammatic Arctic ice-scape that we see in the exhibition guide’s fold-out illustration shows views to the north and south from the locale where the ships were perilously trapped in the ice. Both visually breathtaking and highly informative, the panorama emphasized the representative activities of the crews and the characteristics of the Arctic, its topography and fauna, including ‘seals sporting on the ice’ (#15) and polar bears (#20). The birds shot at by sailors are identified as *Larus glaucous* [*glaucescens*] (#5). Two of the hunters are identified as the expedition leaders, Buchan (#2) and Franklin (#3). As far as we know, this is the only visual representation of him in the Arctic, despite the three dozen ultimately futile rescue missions seeking his lost voyage. Further information on this and other ‘references of the plate’ was

provided in the accompanying brochure.¹³ Entertained and edified, the paying audience was guided into the Arctic.

Reviews of the panoramas, dioramas, and other communal entertainments presented to large audiences appeared in the daily press and in a popular medium initiated at the height of Arctic voyaging, the illustrated newspaper. Beginning in the Anglosphere with the *Illustrated London News* and ramifying quickly and widely, Arctic themes, including constant reporting on the hunt for Franklin from 1848 to 1860—when the Cheyne stereograms became available, and the voyage's fate became clear—figured prominently in these publications. News and images of Arctic travels were also a staple of the first Inuit-language (Kalaallisut) illustrated newspaper, *Atuagagdliutit* (translated as 'distributed reading matter'), which appeared in 1861. Its use of colour lithographs was the first in the world.¹⁴ The paper included images by the Inuk artist Aalut Kangermiu (called Aron of Kangeq), who pictured Inuit stories as well as the doings of foreign visitors. A prime example is 'The Large British Steamer *Bulldog*, the American Ship *Nautilus*, and Other Ships at Nuuk, 1860' (in *Atuagagdliutit*, no. 1, 1 January 1861; see pages 2–3), showing the Western project of laying a transatlantic telegraph cable. HMS *Bulldog* was captained by Francis Leopold McClintock, who had discovered the fate of the Franklin mission just the year before.

Another spectacular example is the 'The Arctic Number' of the illustrated newspaper *The Graphic*, published on 8 November 1876, in celebration of the return of the latest British attempt to reach the North Pole, that of George Strong Nares in 1875–1876 (see page 16). That Nares was unsuccessful in this endeavour, returning prematurely after loss of life and intractable ice conditions, is nowhere evident in this elaborate special number of the newspaper. On the contrary, he was knighted as an exemplar of renewed and undaunted British Arctic exploration after the tragedy of the Franklin expedition. Notable Arctic explorers from the Nordic countries, especially Nansen and Amundsen in Norway, were similarly lionized as individuals and national symbols. The colour lead page dramatically presents a mariner in the ship's

FACSIMILE
OF THE
Illustrated Arctic News,
PUBLISHED ON BOARD
H.M.S. RESOLUTE: CAPT. HORATIO T. AUSTIN, C.B.
IN SEARCH OF THE EXPEDITION
UNDER
Sir John Franklin.



Dedicated by Special Permission
TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE ADMIRALTY,
BY THEIR LORDSHIPS VERY OBEDIENT SERVANTS,
LIEUT. SHERARD OSBORNE, & M^r. GEO. F. M^r. DOUGALL,

The Editors.

LONDON. PUBLISHED BY ACKERMANN & C^o. 96. STRAND,
15th MARCH, 1852.

By Appointment
TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, H.R.H. PRINCE ALBERT,
H.R.H. THE DUCHESS OF KENT & THE ROYAL FAMILY.

crow's nest, looking down at the ice through which he navigates. Is this the ice master or Nares? Either way, he looks determined to follow the 'lead' of marginally open water that, in this jingoistic image, stretches to a bright horizon. The image and its icicle-font text slant vertiginously to the left, suggesting that the journey through these seas is tumultuous. The illustrated narrative that makes up the following thirty pages of this significant publication is analogous in its detail to the text and key found in Barker's Spitsbergen panorama, whose inspiration in Buchan and Franklin's 1818 voyage is duly recorded in a heroizing account of British voyages in pursuit of the North Pole. We see and are informed about the Western technologies of Arctic travel, including sledging and cutting passages through the ice. Domesticity and entertainment are also noted. A large image shows the 'Crew of "Alert" Burning Guy Fawkes on the Fifth of November on Look-Out Floe.' This uniquely British celebration was also pictured in the *Illustrated Arctic News* of 30 November 1850.

Arctic voyaging became part of the home life of millions in the northern hemisphere by the mid-nineteenth century. While there were many who devoted themselves to cartography or the uniqueness of Arctic animals, most construed a sense of this region more casually through entertainments that traded in Arctic clichés, especially that of the courageous white male adventurer. For example, in the serialized version of the Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen's *Farthest North*, issued in twenty installments biweekly and replete with advertisements for commodities, travel accounts, science, entertainment, and commercialism were interwoven. Josephine D. Peary conveyed her peculiar version of the Arctic to young girls in the United States in *The Snow Baby* (see the essay by Ingeborg Høvik in this catalogue). The Arctic was used at home on 'Arctic Scenery' transferware, produced c. 1840 using imagery adapted from Parry's *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific*, 1821 and *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*, published in 1824. African animals and plants made up the borders of these plates, suggesting the extent of British exploration and empire and framing the Arctic

as another 'exotic' possession.¹⁵ Colloquially, the British were 'at home' in the Arctic as well as in India and Africa. This imprint of imperialism may explain why the 'Arctic Scenery' pattern was popular in British pre-Confederation Canada. Suggesting both commerce and colonialism, Franklin and his officers on HMS *Erebus* ate from the popular Blue Willow tableware, chinoiserie produced in Britain but redolent of the very Orient that Franklin and so many others sought via Arctic waterways. Finally, the diminutive mustard tin adorned with images of the Nares voyage of 1875–1876 illustrates 'Arctic Fever' in its domestic everydayness, its saturation and definition of Victorian Britain and beyond.

- 1 On the Pan-Arctic network of trails, see Claudio Aporta, "The Trail as Home: Inuit and Their Pan-Arctic Network of Routes," *Human Ecology* 37 (2009): 131–46.
- 2 For a summary of this 'display culture' beyond Arctic examples, see Jordan Bear and Catherine Roach, "Introduction: Exhibitions in London, 1763–1851" in the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 87, 2 (2025): 153–64.
- 3 See Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund, "Erasure as a Tool of Nineteenth-Century European Exploration, and the Arctic Travels of Tookoolito and Ipiirvik," *The Historical Journal* 66 (2023): 122–40.
- 4 Hester Blum, *The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), 15. See also her essay 'A Fever for Arctic Printing' in this catalogue.
- 5 Among the hundreds of articles, books, and exhibits about the lost Franklin mission and Arctic voyaging, of special note in the contexts developed here are Adrianna Craciun, *Writing Arctic Disaster: Authorship and Exploration* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016); Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund, *Explorations in the Icy North: How Travel Narratives Shaped Arctic Science in The Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2021); and Eavan O'Dochartaigh, *Visual Culture and Arctic Voyages: Personal and Public Art and Literature of the Franklin Search Expeditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2022). See also essays by Kaalund and O'Dochartaigh in this catalogue.
- 6 See Liliane Louvel, *Poetics of the Iconotext*, trans. Laurence Petit (New York, 2016).
- 7 Sherard Osborn and George F. McDougall, eds. *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News* (London: Day & Son, 1852), 17.
- 8 William Parry, *Journal of a Voyage for The Discovery of a North-West Passage from The Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the Years 1819–20, In His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper* (London: Murray, 1821), 78.
- 9 *Arctic Miscellanies: A Souvenir of the Late Polar Search, by the Officers and Seamen of the Expedition* (London: Colburn, 1852), 316.
- 10 Sherard Osborn, *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1865), 121.
- 11 Karl Koldewey, *The German Arctic Expedition of 1869–70* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1874), 119.
- 12 Russell Potter, *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture, 1818–1875*. (McGill-Queens UP, 2007), Appendix. See also Ann Bermingham, "Technologies of Illusion: De Louthembourg's Eidophusikon in Eighteenth-Century London," *Art History*, 39, no. 2 (April 2016): 376–99, and Robert G. David, *The Arctic in the British Imagination, 1818–1914* (Manchester: 2000).
- 13 *Description of a View of the North Coast of Spitzbergen: Now Exhibiting in the Large Rotunda of Henry Aston Barker's Panorama, Leicester-Square* (London: James and Charles Abelard, 1819).
- 14 See Michael Hatt, "Picturing and Counter-Picturing in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Colonial Greenland," *Art History* 43, no. 2 (April 2020): 308–34.
- 15 An example in the Royal Ontario Museum: <https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/151691/plate-in-arctic-scenery-pattern?ctx=54d8a5a8-34ea-4714-ba06-05e795752036&idx=7tau>.

CONTRIBUTORS

Claudio Aporta is an anthropologist whose work has focused on documenting and analyzing Inuit knowledge and patterns of use of marine and coastal environments in the Canadian Arctic. His publications include ethnographic insights on Inuit mobility, use of the sea ice, impacts of technology on way-finding, representation of oral knowledge, and the implications of shipping in Inuit uses of marine areas. Claudio was born in Mendoza, Argentina, pursued his PhD in Anthropology at the University of Alberta, Canada, and was a professor at Carleton and Dalhousie Universities before moving to the World Maritime University in Sweden, where he is a professor in the Ocean Sustainability, Governance, and Management program.

Hester Blum is the Lynne Cooper Harvey Distinguished Professor of English at Washington University in St. Louis. She is the author of *The News at the Ends of the Earth: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration* (2019) and *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (2008), and the editor of the Oxford edition of Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* (2022), among other volumes. She has participated in several research trips to the Arctic and Antarctica, and her awards include fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Mark A. Cheetham is a settler art historian and the author of books, volumes, and articles on topics ranging from Immanuel Kant and Art History to abstract art and postmodernism. He is a Guggenheim Fellow, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and Professor Emeritus at the University of Toronto. He published *Landscape into Eco Art: Articulations of Nature Since the '60s* in 2018. Active as a curator of contemporary and historical art, he recently presented *Struck by Likening* (2017), *Ecologies of Landscape* (2018–2019), and *Ideas of Far North* (2025).

Jason Edwards is Professor of Art History at the University of York, United Kingdom, where he predominantly works on visual and material culture in South Asia from the arrival of the Mughals to the partition of the subcontinent. He was the co-curator of the *Turner and the Whale* exhibition at Hull Maritime Museum in 2017 and the co-editor and author of its accompanying catalogue. In addition, Jason is the author of three Arctic-related articles: 'Humanimal Relations in the Nineteenth-Century Circum-Polar World, or, J.H. Wheldon's *The Diana and the Chase in the Arctic* (1857) from a Vegan-Theoretical Perspective', 'Ecosmopolitan Encounters in the Circum-Polar Contact Zone', and 'Turner's Dark Veganism'.

Isabelle Gapp is an environmental art historian and Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History at the University of Aberdeen. She is the Co-Director of The Centre for the North and leads the British Academy-awarded project *From the Floe Edge* in collaboration with Dr. Sarah Cooley and the West Baffin Co-operative in Kinngait, Nunavut. Isabelle is the author of *A Circumpolar Landscape: Art and Environment in Scandinavia and North America, 1890-1930* (2024).

Anthony Hamber is an independent photographic historian specializing in the period from 1839 to 1880. His PhD was published as *"A Higher Branch of the Art"—Photographing the Fine Arts in England 1839–1880* (1996) and was a winner of a Kraszna-Krausz Book Award. His most recent book, *Photography and the 1851 Great Exhibition* was published in 2018. He has lectured and published widely. His long-term research project is an annotated international bibliography of photographically illustrated publications from 1839 to 1880. Other research includes the photography of art and architecture in this period, the rise of photomechanical processes in the 1840s, and early auctions that included photographs or photographic equipment.

Ingeborg Høvik is Associate Professor of Art History at UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, and manager of the Arctic Voices Project (www.arcticvoices.space). Her research interests are Sámi and Kalaallit Inuit art and crafts, and the art and visual culture of European colonialism in the Arctic region. In collaboration with the Riddu Riddu Festivala and the Arctic Voices Collective, Ingeborg produced the exhibition and edited catalogue *Visualizing Arctic Voices* (July–October 2024). Her most recent publication (2023) is the double special issue 'Counter-Stories from the Arctic Contact Zone' in *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, which she co-edited with Sigfrid Kjeldaas.

Grant Hurley is a settler librarian and archivist of Irish and Acadian heritage who originally hails from Wolastoqiyik and Peskotomukhati territory. He works at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto Libraries where he is responsible for curating and activating the library's extensive collections documenting the diverse experiences, histories, and cultural life on the lands associated with Canada. In 2025, he published the artist's book *WAABAZII* with Maria Hupfield. From 2016 to 2022, Grant led a portfolio of shared digital preservation infrastructure and services as the Digital Preservation Librarian at Scholars Portal. Grant also serves as a Sessional Instructor for the Faculty of Information at the University of Toronto.

Dolly Jørgensen is Professor of History, University of Stavanger, Norway. Her current research agenda focuses on cultural histories of animals. She published *The Medieval Pig* (2024) and *Recovering Lost Species in the Modern Age: Histories of Longing and Belonging* (2019), and her book *Ghosts Behind Glass: Encountering Extinction in Museums* will appear with the University of Chicago Press in 2025. She is co-editor-in-chief of the journal *Environmental Humanities* and co-directs The Greenhouse Center for Environmental Humanities at University of Stavanger. She is currently Laureate of the Åsgard programme of the Institut français de Norvège.

Nanna Katrine Lüders Kaalund is a postdoctoral researcher at the Medical Museion and the Novo Nordisk Foundation Center for Basic Metabolic Research, University of Copenhagen, where she researches stakeholder engagement in international museums. In addition to her work on engagement, Kaalund has a general research interest in the relationship between narratives and science, and the stories we tell about the natural world, scientific practice, and ourselves—in museums and elsewhere. Previously, Kaalund held a Carlsberg Foundation Reintegration Fellowship at Aarhus University, where she examined how scientific methodologies in colonial contact zones influenced archival collections and shaped processes of memorialization and museumification, focusing on the Royal Greenlandic Trading Company. Kaalund has also worked at the Scott Polar Research Institute, University of Cambridge, and lectured in the history of science communication at the University of Leeds. She earned her PhD in Science and Technology Studies from York University, Canada, in 2017.

Nyssa Komorowski (member of Oneida Nation of the Thames) is a PhD candidate in Art History at the University of Toronto, specializing in Book History and Print Culture. She is interested in Haudenosaunee epistemologies, research-creation methodologies, and interdisciplinary approaches between book history and art history. Her doctoral dissertation research investigates the material and object histories of late-nineteenth century Indigenous performance artist E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake, with a focus on her performance costumes, and the way that memories and afterimages of her costumes have been negotiated and recreated in various media, archives, and exhibitions over time.

Julia Lum is Assistant Professor of Art History at Scripps College. Her research and teaching are focused on the visual and material cultures of empire, the history of photography, and landscape studies. Her writings have been published in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, *Journal 18*, *British Art Studies*, *Visual Studies*, and *Shift*, and she is Guest Curator of the touring exhibition, *Parallax: Re-Imagining the Canada-US Border* (co-organized with The Reach Gallery Museum, opening 2025). Her current book project, *Landfalls: Pacific Space at the Limits of European Vision*, tracks a shifting set of artistic collisions between British and Polynesian ways of understanding space and place.

John MacDonald spent most of his working life in the Canadian Arctic, including twenty-five years in Igloolik as coordinator of Nunavut Science Institute's Igloolik Research Centre. Beginning in 1985, he worked closely with the community's Inuit elders and leaders to establish and develop a major program designed to record and document the rich oral history and traditional knowledge of the Amitturmiut, as the Inuit of the area refer to themselves. MacDonald is author of *The Arctic Sky: Exploring the Inuit Universe* (2022). He is also co-editor of *The Hands' Measure: Essays Honouring Leah Akssajuk Otak's Contribution to Arctic Science* (2018).

Maria Nordvall is a Sámi scholar, art critic, and illustrator whose multifaceted work strives to bridge academic, artistic, Indigenous and political fields while contributing to decolonization processes. She is a PhD researcher in her final year at the University of Aberdeen in the department of Social Anthropology. Nordvall's current research focuses on Sámi dwellings, examining their conceptualization and intersections in visual art and cultural engagement. Nordvall's previous art historical research revolves around Sámi ceremonial drums and their inner and outer worlds. Her academic contributions extend to collaborative Sámi research projects such as *Viesso duobbdága* and *Säimmm—Skolt Saami Network*. She is a research assistant in the international initiative *Arctic Heritage: Commodification, Identity, and Revitalisation in the Anthropocene* and holds an accolade title as UNAS Earth Ambassador.

Eavan O'Dochartaigh is an Honorary Research Lecturer and Principal Investigator of the project 'Exploring the Arctic Archive' (2022–2026) funded by Research Ireland at University of Galway. She has been a member of the official network for the Tracing Arctic Voices project, funded by the Research Council of Norway from 2018 to 2024 and was a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual fellow at Umeå University, Sweden from 2019 to 2021. Prior to beginning her PhD in 2012, she worked in archaeological consultancy, graphics, mapping, and heritage in Ireland, Iceland, and the UK. Her first book, *Visual Culture and Arctic Voyages* (2022), is published by Cambridge University Press and is available as open access on Cambridge Core: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108992794>.

Carol Payne is a historian of photography, Professor of Art History and Associate Dean (Research and International) in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Carleton University. With Beth Greenhorn, Deborah Kigjugalik Webster, and Christina Williamson, she is a co-editor of *Atiqput: Inuit Oral History and Project Naming* (2022), winner of the Canadian Historical Association's 2023 Cleo Prize: The North. With Inuk historian and educator Augatnaaq Eccles, she co-curated the online exhibition *Ajjiliurlagit: The Photographs of Joseph Idlout (1912/13–1968)*: <https://www.josephidloutphotographs.ca/>. Payne is also author of *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941–1971* (2013) and co-editor (with Andrea Kunard) of *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* (2011) among other publications.

Bart Pushaw is Assistant Professor of Art History at the University of Tennessee in Chattanooga. Their research focuses on the colonial Arctic since the eighteenth century, with an emphasis on Kalaallit artists. They work closely with museums in and of the Arctic to advance repatriation campaigns and restore collections to their communities of origin. They are at work on their first academic monograph, *Indulgent Images: Colonial Inuit Art and the Atlantic World*, and serve as a co-editor for the forthcoming volumes *The Material Legacies of Nordic Empire* (with Thor J. Mednick) as well as *Unfinished Histories: Art, Memory, and the Politics of Coloniality* (with Mathias Danbolt and Mette Kia Krabbe Meyer).

Deborah Kigjugalik Webster is an anthropologist, writer and curator originally from Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), Nunavut. She is the author of *Harvaqtuurmiut Heritage: The Heritage of the Inuit of the Lower Kazan River* (1999) as well as the children's books *Akilak's Adventure* (2016) and *When I Was Young in Nunavut* (2021). Deborah is a co-editor (with Carol Payne, Beth Greenhorn, and Christina Williamson) of the 2022 collected volume, *Atiqput: Inuit Oral History and Project Naming* (2022). Her current project 'In Our Own Words: The Voice of Inuit RCMP Special Constables from Nunavut' seeks to profile each of the 130 Inuit special constables from what is now Nunavut and to highlight their contributions as RCMP members.

EXHIBITION CASE LIST

Cases 1 & 2: Arctic Fever Across the Circumpolar North

John Barrow (1764–1848). *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*. London: John Murray, 1818.

William Edward Parry (1790–1855). *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage*. London: John Murray, 1824.

John Ross (1777–1856). *A Voyage of Discovery, Made Under the Orders of the Admiralty, in His Majesty's ships Isabella and Alexander, for the Purpose of Exploring Baffin's Bay, and Inquiring into the Probability of a North-West Passage*. London: John Murray, 1819.

George Francis Lyon (1796–1832). *A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to Reach Repulse Bay*. London: John Murray, 1825.

"A Lady." *A Peep at the Esquimaux; or, Scenes on the Ice*. London: T. and J. Allman, 1830.

Owen Stanley (1811–1850). *The Drawings Made by Captain Owen Stanley When on the Arctic Expedition Commanded by Sir George Back in H.M.S. 'Terror' 1836 and 1837*. With Aarom von Hemmersbach's *The Arctic Binding* (2025): A tattooed clamshell case made for Owen Stanley's manuscripts at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.

Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq (1940–). *The Legend of Kiviuq as Retold in the Drawings of Nancy Pukirnak Aupaluktuq*. Gatineau, Quebec: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2006.

Victoria Mamnguqsualuk (1930–2016). *Keeveeok, Awake! Mamnguqsualuk and the Rebirth of Legend at Baker Lake*. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, University of Alberta, 1986.

John Hugh Johnson (dates unknown). *The Arctic Regions, Showing the North-West Passage as Determined by Cap. R. McClure and Other Arctic Voyagers*. London: Archibald Fullerton and Co., 1856.

Sherard Osborn (1822–1875). *Stray Leaves from an Arctic Journal*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1865.

Peter Cormac Sutherland (1822–1900). *Journal of a Voyage in Baffin's Bay and Barrow Straits*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1852.

Elisha Kent Kane (1820–1857). *The United States Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin*. Philadelphia: Childs and Peterson, 1857.

John Powles Cheyne (1826–1902). *Stereoscopic Slides of the Relics of Sir John Franklin's Expedition; Brought Home in the "Fox" by Captain M'Clintock, in September, 1859*. London: John Powles Cheyne, 1860.

Admiralty Chart of Baffin Bay with Davis & Barrow Straits, with Track for HMS Truelove, 1818–1849 from Papers and Correspondence Relative to the Arctic Expedition Under Sir John Franklin. London: Parliament, House of Commons, 1850.

Cases 3 & 4: The Northwest Passage

William Swainson (1789–1855) and John Richardson (1787–1865). *Fauna Boreali-Americana; or the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America. Part 2: The Birds*. London: John Murray, 1831.

Walter William May (1831–1896). *A Series of Fourteen Sketches Made During the Voyage Up Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin*. London: Day and Son, 1855.

William Henry Browne (1823–1871). *Ten Coloured Views Taken During the Arctic Expedition of Her Majesty's Ships 'Enterprise' and 'Investigator.'* London: Ackermann & Co., 1850.

William Parker Snow (1817–1895). *Voyage of the Prince Albert in Search of Sir John Franklin*. London: Longman and Co., 1851.

Arctic Miscellanies; a Souvenir of the Late Polar Search, by the Officers and Seamen of the Expedition. London: Colburn and Co., 1852.

Edward Sabine (1788–1883), editor. *The North Georgia Gazette, and Winter Chronicle*. London: John Murray, 1821.

Sherard Osborn (1822–1875) and George F. McDougall (1825–1871), editors. *Facsimile of the Illustrated Arctic News*. London: Ackerman and Co., 1852.

Illustrated London News, Volume 35. London: Illustrated London News, July–December 1859.

Wilkie Collins (1824–1889), with Charles Dickens (1812–1870). *The Frozen Deep*. Boston: William F. Gill and Company, 1875.

George F. McDougall. *Prologue to the Opening of the Theatre Royal, Melville Island*. Melville Island, Northwest Territories and Nunavut: Melville Island Press, 1852.

David Roberts (1796–1864). *Roberts' Moving Diorama of the Polar Expedition*. London: W. Reynolds, 1829.

Case 5: The North Pole: An Idea More than a Place?

George Strong Nares (1831–1915). *Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea During 1875–76 in H.M. ships 'Alert' and 'Discovery'*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1878.

Benjamin Bragg (pseudonym). *A Voyage to the North Pole*. London: George Walker, 1817.

"The Arctic Number" of *The Graphic*. London: Illustrated Newspapers Limited, November 8, 1876.

Mustard Tin. British, c. 1876. On loan from private collection.

Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851). *Frankenstein, or, The Modern Prometheus*. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831.

Jules Verne (1828–1925). *The Field of Ice; or, The Adventures of Captain Hatteras*. Chicago: Donnelley Loyd, 1877.

Fridtjof Nansen (1861–1930). *Fram over polhavet; Den Norske polarfaerd*. Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co., 1897.

Fridtjof Nansen, "Farthest North": *Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship Fram, 1893–96*. London: George Newnes, 1898.

Fridtjof Nansen. *Fridtjof Nansen's "Farthest North."* London: George Newnes, 1898.

Case 6: Western Gateway: The Bering Strait and North Pacific

George Vancouver (1757–1798). *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*. London: G.G. and J. Robinson; and J. Edwards, 1798.

Henry Wigstead [attributed] (1760–1800). *Contest Between England and Spain for the Dominion of the Seas*. London: William Holland, 1790.

James Wyld (1812–1887). *Chart of the Arctic Regions from the Admiralty Surveys*. London: James Wyld, circa 1849.

Roald Amundsen (1872–1928). “*The North West Passage*”: *Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship “Gjøa” 1903–1907*. London: Archibald Constable and Company Limited, 1908.

William Hulme Hooper (1827–1854). *Ten Months Among the Tents of the Tuski, with Incidents of an Arctic Boat Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin*. London: John Murray, 1853.

Sophia Cracroft (1816–1892). *Lady Franklin Visits Sitka, Alaska, 1870: The Journal of Sophia Cracroft, Sir John Franklin's Niece 1816–1892*. Anchorage: Alaska Historical Society; 1981.

Case 7: The Northeast Passage: Sápmi, Svalbard, and Russia

Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756). *Whaling in Spitsbergen*. Augsburg, Germany: Martin Engelbrecht, circa 1760.

Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld (1832–1901). *Svenska polar-expeditionen år 1872–1873, under ledning af A.E. Nordenskiöld*. Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1875.

Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld. *Vegas färd kring Asien och Europa: Jemte en historisk återblick på föregående resor längs gamla världens nordkust*. Stockholm: Frans & Gottfrid Beijer, 1880–1881.

Henry Aston Barker (1774–1856). *Description of a View of the North Coast of Spitzbergen: Now Exhibiting in the Large Rotunda of Henry Aston Barker's Panorama*. London: James W. and Charles Abelard, 1819.

Johan Turi (1854–1936). *Muittalus Samid Birra*. Copenhagen: Græbes Bogtrykkeri, 1911.

Lapland Sketches, or Delineations of the Costume, Habits, and Peculiarities of Jens Holm and his Wife Karina Christian; with Accurate Representations of the Deer, Sledges, Huts, &c. as Exhibited at Bullock's Museum. London: J. Harris and Son, circa 1823.

Gavril Andreievich Sarychev (1763–1831). *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the North-East of Siberia, the Frozen Ocean, and the North-East Sea*. London: Richard Phillips, 1806.

**Case 8: Kalaallit Nunaat,
Iceland, and Newfoundland**

Atuagagdliutit: Nalingínarnik tusaruminásassunik univkat, Issue 1. Godthaab, Greenland: Hinrich Rink, 1 January 1861.

George William Manby (1765–1854). *Journal of a Voyage to Greenland, in the Year 1821*. London: George and William Budd Whittaker, 1822.

Josephine Diebitsch Peary (1863–1955). *The Snow Baby: A True Story with True Pictures*. London: Isbister and Co., 1902.

Frederick Temple Blackwood, Marquis of Dufferin and Ava (1826–1902). *A Yacht Voyage: Letters from High Latitudes: Being Some Account of a Voyage, in 1856, in the Schooner Yacht "Foam," to Iceland, Jan Mayen, and Spitzbergen*. Toronto: Adam, Stevenson, & Co., 1873.

Charles Francis Hall (1821–1871). *Life with the Esquimaux*. London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1864.

Karl Koldewey (1837–1908). *The German Arctic Expedition of 1869–70, and Narrative of the Wreck of the "Hansa" in the Ice*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1874.

Louis Legrand Noble (1813–1882). *After Icebergs with a Painter: A Summer Voyage to Labrador and Around Newfoundland*. London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co., 1861.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MARK A. CHEETHAM & ISABELLE GAPP

This project began during a residential fellowship at the Jackman Humanities Institute at the University of Toronto in 2019–20 in which Mark A. Cheetham's research focused on 'Weather as Matter and Metaphor' in Arctic voyages of the nineteenth century. When Isabelle Gapp took up a Faculty of Arts and Science Postdoctoral Fellowship in the fall of 2021, we expanded our mutual research interests in the Arctic by proposing an exhibition at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.

Thanks to the many colleagues at Fisher Library who made this exhibition possible: Paul Armstrong (photography), Maia Balint (conservator), Linda Joy (former conservator), Marie Korey (second reader), Loryl MacDonald (director), Dustin McMurphy (retrievals coordinator), and Andrew Stewart (reading room coordinator). Special thanks to the JHI and to Timothy Perry at Fisher Library, who encouraged and guided the project at its outset. Thanks to Elizabeth Ridolfo (Special Collections Projects Librarian) for her expert reading of the manuscript and related texts and to catalogue designer Lauren Wickware. Grant Hurley, Canadiana Librarian at Fisher Library, has been our main contact as we developed the exhibition. He has been exemplary in supporting our ambitions and patiently fielding endless questions, as has David Fernández, Head of Rare Books and Special Collections.

Several graduate students have aided research for the *Arctic Fever* catalogue including through the SSHRC 'SIG' program: thanks to Ivana Dizdar, Nyssa Komorowski, Julie-Ann Mercer, and Ellen Siebel-Achenbach. Cheetham's research has been supported by the Jackman Humanities Institute, a SSHRC Insight Grant, and the Canadian Initiative for Nordic Studies. Isabelle Gapp wishes to thank the British Academy Knowledge Frontiers: International Interdisciplinary Research Project (KF8\230008).

Graduate and undergraduate teaching has been integral to ideas for this exhibition. Thanks to the many students who worked with the library materials first-hand and to Grant Hurley and Elizabeth Ridolfo at Fisher

Library and Natasha Willems and Joanna Morrison in Special Collections at the Toronto Reference Library for expert support of these classes over several years.

The exhibition is accompanied by a catalogue featuring eighteen essays by scholars from many different parts of the world and across career stages. Their contributions are individually and collectively remarkable and will, we believe, add significantly to the scholarship around Arctic voyaging in the nineteenth century and its many ramifications for us today. Sincere thanks to these authors.

MC: As always, my personal thanks to Elizabeth D. Harvey, whose long-standing passion for the Arctic translated into many wonderful conversations about its representation in the nineteenth century.

IG: And thank you to Scott Doyle, my partner in life and research, and to Joanne Anderson and Catriona McAra, my colleagues at the University of Aberdeen, who have supported and encouraged this research.



'First Communication with the Natives of Prince Regents Bay, as Drawn by John Sackheouse and Presented to Capt. Ross, August 10, 1818', from John Ross' *A Voyage of Discovery* (1819).



Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Title: Arctic fever : image and narrative in north circumpolar voyaging of the long nineteenth century/Mark A. Cheetham, Isabelle Gapp, curators and editors ; with essays by: Claudio Aporto [and 17 others].

Other titles: Arctic fever (2026)

Names: Cheetham, Mark A. (Mark Arthur), 1954- editor, author | Gapp, Isabelle, editor, author. | Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, publisher, host institution.

Description: Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: Canadiana 20250276801 | ISBN 9780772711793 (softcover)

Subjects: LCSH: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library--Exhibitions. | LCSH: Arctic regions--In art--Exhibitions. | LCSH: Arctic regions--Discovery and exploration--Exhibitions. | LCSH: Geographical discoveries in art--Exhibitions. | LCSH: Geographical discoveries in literature--Exhibitions. | LCGFT: Exhibition catalogs.

Classification: LCC G615 .A73 2026 | DDC 919.804--dc23

ISBN 978-0-7727-1179-3

Exhibition and catalogue by
Mark A. Cheetham and Isabelle Gapp

General editor and exhibition liaison:
Grant Hurley

Additional editing by David Fernández,
Marie Korey, and Elizabeth Ridolfo

Exhibition designed and installed
by Maia Balint

Photography of items in UTL collections
by Paul Armstrong

Catalogue designed by Lauren Wickware

Catalogue printed by Andora Graphics

This online companion to the Arctic Fever
exhibition highlights geographical locations
important to Arctic voyaging in the 19th
century. It also functions as a stand-alone
exhibition and provides supplements to the
exhibition and catalogue.

<https://arcg.is/Smbz9o>



Copyright for all essays remains with the authors.

All images reproduced from the collections of
the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, except:

Page 16: Robarts Library, University of Toronto
Libraries.

Pages 51, 56: Images reproduced with kind
permission.

Pages 53, 59: Images reproduced with kind
permission. Images courtesy of the Indigenous
Art Collection, Crown-Indigenous Relations
and Northern Affairs Canada. Photographer:
Lawrence Cook.

Figures on pages 70 and 74 by the Department
of Unusual Certainties.

Page 84: Gerstein Science Information Centre,
University of Toronto Libraries.

Page 97: Image courtesy of the Toronto Public
Library.

Page 119: Image courtesy of the British Newspaper
Archive.

Page 129: Image courtesy of ROM (Royal Ontario
Museum), Toronto, Canada. ©ROM

Page 151: Image courtesy of The National Archives,
Kew, MFQ 1/127.

Page 180: Robarts Library, University of Toronto
Libraries.

Following page: From George William Manby,
Journey of a Voyage to Greenland (1821).

Cover: 'Aurora, December 17, 1860' from Charles
Francis Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux* (1864).



